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DEATH OF THOMAS CLARKSON.

It is our very painful duty to record the death of the venerable and honoured THOMAS CLARKSON. This event took place at Playford Hall, near Ipswich, on Saturday, the 26th ult., at a quarter past three in the morning. He was born on the 28th March, 1760, and was consequently in the eighty-seventh year of his age, sixty of which were devoted to promote the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade.

Among the illustrious men whose names will adorn the history of our nation and our race, that of Thomas Clarkson will occupy a conspicuous position. His was no vulgar ambition: he sought not fame in courts or camps, and abandoned an honourable profession, in which he might have risen to eminence and wealth, that he might devote himself wholly and exclusively to the relief of suffering and oppressed humanity. When seeking for literary honours at the University of Cambridge, he became aware, for the first time, of the miseries of a continent, and the dreadful oppressions of its people. He saw Africa bleeding at every pore, and her children led into hopeless and perpetual slavery. The polished nations of Europe—and Great Britain stood conspicuous among them—sent forth navies to her shores every year, to be freighted with living cargoes for the service of their plantations and colonies abroad. The facts elicited by his researches were of the most appalling kind. They appealed with irresistible force to his sympathies as a man, and to his principles as a Christian; and, with the decision and energy peculiar to his character, he devoted himself to redress the injuries of Africa, and to the emancipation of her sons.

Into the details of his career, and the successes which have followed his labours, we do not in our present number intend to enter; but we hope in our next, to present an outline of both, more complete and satisfactory both to ourselves and our readers, than anything we could present at the present moment. In the meantime we call attention to the well-merited eulogy pronounced by the *Morning Chronicle* on this distinguished man.

"Our obituary record of yesterday contained one announcement which will have been read with thoughtful and reverential emotion by all classes and sections of the community. The decease of the venerable Thomas Clarkson is one of those events which, although devoid of appreciable external results, possess a profounder interest for the heart of a people than occurrences directly and visibly influencing the course of public affairs. The peaceful termination of a life crowded with unremitting efforts and brilliant successes in the cause of justice and humanity, and protracted far beyond the period at which life usually ceases to be a blessing, can, indeed, scarcely excite any feelings of poignant regret, except within the circle of immediate personal friendship and affinity; and even the sorrows of personal attachment must be largely qualified by that sober and tranquil satisfaction with which we view the harmonious completion of a noble and beneficent career. A ripe fulness of years and honours, which the hand of death does but consummate and crown, is a spectacle too grateful to the moral sense to call forth the sentiments or the language of mere grief; and sixty years of unwearied and triumphantly successful service in the most glorious of causes have placed the departed philanthropist beyond the range of the ordinary regrets elicited by a good man's death. The name of Thomas Clarkson has long since become historical—high among the highest of those which head the successive chapters of national or universal history. His death is but a memento that more impressively reminds us of what we owe to his life, and fixes our regards, with a more solemn earnestness, on those labours on which time and nature have set their final seal.

"Of a life whose moral grandeur and external public results have consecrated the name of Thomas Clarkson for a brighter and more enduring fame than after ages will award to the most successful warrior or statesman of his generation, it is difficult to speak fitly within the limits to which we must now restrict ourselves. The leading events of the deceased philanthropist's career we have elsewhere recorded for those of our readers who will naturally desire to refresh their knowledge of the dates and details of a struggle which, in all except its great and permanent results, has long since faded into the past. But how to sum up the moral significance of an activity so fruitful, and a character so energetic and commanding—a character, too, which, by its very simplicity, almost precludes that sort of analytical commentary usually invited by the death of a great man?

"Perhaps we cannot more truly and characteristically indicate the place which Thomas Clarkson will hereafter occupy in the ethical judgment of mankind, than by pronouncing him the noblest type and representative of that spirit of organized moral and religious effort for philanthropic objects, whose extraordinary development within the last half century—mainly in consequence of the impulse first given by Clarkson and his coadjutors—constitutes a social revolution more important than dynastic change itself. The overpowering force and singleness of the moral element of Clarkson's being, eminently qualified him, not only to do the work, and reap the honours, of that species of moral apostleship to which, from earliest manhood, he was irresistibly impelled, but kept him through life singularly exempt from the errors and extravagances into which this mode of activity is too apt to degenerate. His whole being and doing may be said to be epitomised in the youthful impulse that constituted his first inspiration. That intense and all-consuming moral earnestness which spoiled a hardly-earned gratification of literary ambition, and made college successes and honours the occasion of an unbearable mental anguish, and constrained the triumphant literary aspirant to gird himself to a life-long struggle with the hideous realities which had formed the subject-matter of an honourable intellectual pastime, sustained itself in all its freshness and purity to the last. The unsleeping vigilance, the unsparing self-sacrifice, the courageous self-exposure to an obloquy that more than once brought him on the very verge of literal bodily martyrdom, and the indefatigably laborious and pains-taking industry, with which Clarkson began, carried on, and ended his war against a gigantic public wrong that seemed, when he commenced, as solid and rooted a fact as the British monarchy itself, were but the varied and prolonged expression of that exquisitely sensitive moral truthfulness which rendered the composition of a prize essay on iniquity and cruelty an intolerable mental torture. It strikingly illustrates the unity of a mind and life absorbingly devoted to the task of studying the details of social wrongs, with a view to their redress, that the latest hours of the philanthropist's conscious existence were occupied with schemes for the correction of evils in the condition of merchant seamen, with which his earlier labours in the anti-slavery cause had incidentally made him acquainted.

"He is gone from among us—but his work, and the spirit in which he worked, live after him. The idea of the solitary and agonised student has grown into fact, and moved the world, and written itself ineffaceably in the codes of nations; and the faith in whose strength he worked and waited, may assure those who come after him that the eventual universality of the triumph of justice and humanity is already decreed by a Providence which apporions the moral successes of nations, as of individuals, to the simplicity and fidelity of their allegiance to moral principle."

From a communication made by the Rev. Mr. Dickinson, pub-

lished by an evening contemporary (the *Globe*) we learn that Mr. Clarkson had become seriously worse during the last three weeks, and finally took to his bed, just one week previously to his death. His strength was much enfeebled previously, but until he was absolutely confined to his room, he gave his mind to matters of public good. From the time, however, of his confinement to his bed, it was not observed that he entered upon external matters, but gave his mind much to prayer, and was unwilling to be interrupted in his prayerful thoughts upon the future. On the Thursday evening preceding his death, he subsided into sleep, or unconsciousness, during which he neither stirred nor spoke. On Friday evening he roused up, with his physical powers much reduced, so that, as he mentioned some of his attendants by name, he could not articulate his wishes for little matters to be done for his ease and comfort. He now spoke with imploring look, and with agitated and clasped hands, but was incapable of receiving or enjoying any attentions; and thus, after some suffering, he relapsed into a calm, about ten minutes before his death, and then gently breathed his last.

" Clarkson! It was an obstinate hill to climb;
How toilsome—nay, how dire—it was, by thee
Is known: by none, perhaps, so feelingly.
But thou, who starting in thy youthful prime,
Didst first lead forth that enterprise sublime,
Hast heard thy constant voice its charge repeat,
Which out of thy young heart's oracular seat
First roused thee. O true yoke-fellow of time,
Duty's intrepid liegeman—see, the palm
Is won, and by all nations shall be worn!
The blood-stained writing is for ever torn.
Thou henceforth will have a good man's calm,
A great man's happiness. Thy zeal shall find
Repose at length, firm friend of human kind!"

WORDSWORTH.

REPORT ON THE SLAVE-TRADE OF THE GREAT DESERT.

(Continued.)

The negroes brought from Soudan to Ghat belong almost to all the countries of Central Africa, as far to the south as *NOUFES* on the Niger, and seven days from the Atlantic; and although the Mohammedan slave-dealers pretend that it is against the law of their religion to purchase Mohammedan slaves, yet many of the slaves are really nominally Mussulmans, and are brought from countries professing the religion of the prophet or impostor of Mecca. The Moors call their slaves either *Ensarak*, that is "Christians," or "Jews." The negro Jews circumcise themselves and keep a seventh day, usually getting intoxicated on their Sabbath. These Judaising notions were unquestionably introduced into Central Africa, via Abyssinia, a Judaising country from the days of Solomon, whilst the present mongrel Abyssinians are as much Jews as Christians. The Moors call the rest of the Pagan negroes "Christians," in the same vulgar ridiculous way as the Italians call all Mohammedans "Turks." Nothing can be more brutal than the gross ignorance and vindictiveness with which the Christians and Mohammedans of the Mediterranean speak one of another, the bitter fruit of those inhuman wars called in our romances the happy days of *crusading chivalry*. But, as if to perpetuate our shame, the barbarous institution of *monk-soldiers* is to be re-planted and transplanted to the province of Oran, in Algeria. This certainly is a famous way of colonizing Africa; it is worthy of French failures at colonization, and does the Protestant Guizot great honour! I should like to see the *Peace Society* send a remonstrance to the French government against this fresh insult to the Christian religion. Surely Moorish slave-dealers are less inexcusable than these false knights of the cross. Nearly all the Bornou slaves are brought from the Mandara and Begharmy, and other countries at the base of the Mountains of the Moon. These negroes are all Pagans. The Bornou caravan arrives at Mourzuk, capital of Fezzan, twice a year. A young male slave costs ten dollars in goods, but paid in money, six dollars; but a female slave costs fifteen to eighteen dollars in the markets of Bornou. The price is somewhat higher in Soudan. But the slaves of Housa, or Soudan, are superior in intelligence and beauty to those of the upper countries of Bornou; and after the Fullan beauties those of Housa are celebrated all over Africa. Seven dollars are paid for bringing slaves from

Soudan to Ghat by the Moorish merchants, who purchase their slaves at the first hand. Two-thirds of the slaves are females. (p)

Slaves are also brought from Wadai, a powerful negro Arab or Arabo-negro kingdom, lying between Bornou and Upper Egypt; but the number brought to Mourzuk is very small. There is, however, a great number carried, rather driven, on another route to the market of Bengazi, whence they are shipped to Constantinople and the Levant. These caravans will bring a thousand slaves together, but they are biennially. Wadai is an unexplored country. It is reputed for great wealth, but the moral character of the people is exceedingly low. Intoxication, ending mostly in deadly quarrels, is the prevalent vice of the nation. It is not surprising that such a people should be great slave-dealers. I hope we shall always be able to prove that the most licentious people are the greatest slave-dealers.

Timbuctoo has sent but few slaves from Western Nigritia for the markets of Tripoli during late years. This arises principally from the insecurity of the routes. The Bambara slaves are greatly esteemed, being robust and fine men; and were it not for the depredations of the Shanbats and other tribes, certainly this trade would soon revive. A little gold is smuggled over the desert, and this is all the trade of the Tripoline merchants with Timbuctoo at the present time; now and then also, Timbuctoo cotton or barracans are brought in small quantities, but they are mostly worn in the interior.

The relative value of the three principal objects of Soudan commerce at the last winter *souk*, or fair, of Ghat, is the following (these objects of Soudan commerce being *slaves*, *senna*, and *elephants' teeth*):—

Slaves, 900, at an average of 30 dollars each.....	\$27,000
Elephants' teeth, 160 camel loads, at 200 dollars each	32,000
Senna, 130 camel loads, at 15 dollars each.....	2,000

Total \$61,000

It is important to observe, that this is their respective value at the oasis of Ghat; at Tripoli it would increase one-third, which third is the available profits of the merchants. And on getting to the markets of Europe this value will at least be doubled, or 122,000 dollars. It is pleasing to remark here, that the quantity of ivory is considerable, and of greater value than the slaves. Now, were the slave-markets shut in Tripoli, I am sure the quantities of elephants' teeth and senna would nearly double, or, at any rate, increase in a sufficient proportion to purchase the requisite supply of European goods; so that the commerce of the Great Desert would experience no injury, so far as the mart of Ghat is concerned. But there might have been a larger supply of ivory this year than usual; there was also a larger supply of slaves; so we are equal again.

Nevertheless, the profits of the native merchants on slaves are certainly not very great; for, supposing the Soudan merchant gave fifteen or twenty dollars for one of the fairest slaves in Kanon, it will cost some eight or ten dollars, *en route*, to Ghat. Here they sell it for forty dollars. It then costs five or six, *en route*, to Tripoli, besides the expense when at Ghat, after being purchased; the merchants often staying a couple of months at this *souk*. This raises the cost price in the Tripoli market to nearly sixty dollars. Now, if they can sell it at seventy or eighty, they consider themselves extremely fortunate. But from this profit of from ten to twenty dollars, ten dollars must be deducted for the government duty. "Where, then, is the profit?" as a merchant said to me when making this calculation; and I reply, "Where?" If they can screw out two or three dollars, at the most, out of the sale of each slave, it is as much as they can do. But this year I have received positive intelligence, from the best authority, that all the Ghadames and Tripoline merchants who have just brought slaves from Ghat and Fezzan, will lose money; the market being overstocked with human flesh, and the exportation to Constantinople, by sea, very slow. Some of the merchants, not being able to sell their slaves, have determined to go themselves to Constantinople with them. We must also take into account the enormous per centage which the European merchants get upon the goods credited to these slave-dealers, and with which they purchase their slaves.

It is the Ottoman government and the European merchants who are the principal gainers by the odious traffic in human flesh and blood. A faint idea may be conveyed to the mind of what the Turks get of unholy gains, by casting up the duty money

levied upon the slaves which were brought by the last Soudan winter caravan. This caravan brought some 800 or 900; say, in round numbers, calculating those imported a little before, 1000. The duty on each is *ten* dollars, and thus we have 10,000 dollars. This is the winter caravan; there is, besides, the summer caravan, which brings about a *third* of this number of slaves. Then, there is Fezzan, between which country and Bornou, a great trade in slaves is carried on. The amount of slaves introduced into Tripoli, *via* Fezzan and Mourzuk, coming from both Bornou and Soudan, during the last three years, is as follows:—

In 1843	2,200
1844	1,200
1845	1,100

Total .. 4,500

Happily we see here a decrease in the last two years, whilst the number of the Soudan route, or rather Ghat mart, increases. (10) This decrease is evidently owing to the late interruption of the Bornou route; three thousand Arabs of Tripoli having taken refuge in Bornou, or thereabouts, flying before the Turks, and, having scarcely anything to subsist upon, attacked the Bornou caravan, as well as other caravans. The fact is, there has been no regular caravan from Bornou for the last three years, and this is the cause of the decrease of the importation into Tripoli from that country.

On the whole, then, if the winter caravan of Soudan introduces into Tripoli the average number of 1000 slaves, we may fairly state this as a *third* of the annual number introduced *via* Ghat, Ghadames, Fezzan, and Bengazi, and this will make the impost money of government on 30,000 slaves 30,000 dollars per annum. Besides, if a slave is conveyed to Mourzuk, thence to Tripoli, and thence to Stainbout, such is the rate of duty—three dollars at Mourzuk; ten at Tripoli; ten at Constantinople, making twenty-three dollars' duty on a single slave, half of the average value, imported into the Ottoman dominions. Will the Porte easily relinquish such a lucrative traffic, and will it not continue to allege its most delicate *religious* scruples for the maintenance thereof?

But returning to the Soudan caravan, the 1000 slaves imported from Soudan *via* Ghat, during the winter, produce on an average, in the markets of Tripoli, fifty dollars each, the present mediate price. And these slaves are mostly purchased with the goods of European merchants in Tripoli, on which goods the said merchants get, at least, twenty-five per cent.; thus making their profit on the sale of the 1000 slaves belonging to the above-mentioned caravan, 12,000 dollars. But this is only a third of the annual amount, and their whole gains during the year may be justly calculated at 37,000 dollars. We may conclude, therefore, most reasonably, that neither the Turkish government nor the European merchants of Tripoli will easily relinquish a traffic so lucrative to them, or give any information about it without compulsion; and a traffic, compared with the other trade and resources of Tripoli, to them, deserving the epithet of enormously lucrative.

I add a word concerning the European manufactures given in exchange for slaves at the slave-market of Ghat. These articles consist of silk, in thread, of a very inferior quality; red and green cloth, infamously bad; writing paper of the most common thick rough sort; trumpery beads of various sorts, mostly glass; small penny looking-glasses and bad razors; common sword blades; small carpet rugs, equally bad; and some coloured woollens, manufactured at Mesurata, in Tripoli. It was for detestable rubbish of this sort that human beings were purchased at Ghat. I attended many sales, and could see nothing else given in exchange for that sentient and intellectual being stamped with the image of God!

I made many inquiries of the Soudan people and merchants respecting the traffic of slaves, as carried on by Europeans on the western coast of Africa; but unfortunately these people spoke very little Arabic, and I did not think it prudent to employ an interpreter. I learnt, however, from signs, and a few syllables, that white men came up the Niger, bought slaves with goods and dollars, put the slaves in irons, and conveyed them down the river. I could distinguish the name of Portuguese and Americans in their broken language. They had seen the steamers of the late

fatal Niger expedition, but, curious enough, they were not at all acquainted with either its ostensible or ultimate objects.

If it be any compliment to the intellect of the negro and Soudan merchants, I may subjoin that these merchants are as acute and dexterous at striking a bargain as their Moorish and Arab competitors of the north. Indeed, during the whole of my intercourse with the free negroes and slaves of the interior, I saw nothing in them—no incapacity or inaptitude—to prevent them rising in the scale of civilization equal to that of the people of Northern Africa; whilst, at the same time, they are less cruel and ferocious, and more mild and obliging, than the Arabs and Moors of Barbary.

(9) It is a fine compliment to the Queen of England, that her ally the Porte, should lead three or four thousand of her sex into captivity every year, *via* Tripoli, and many of them whipped to death, and all debauched and violated. And England sustains the Porte in these horrors!

(10) Just before leaving Tripoli I heard that 1000 slaves were coming down from Ghadames; but I should think this a great exaggeration. There may be, however, perhaps half that number.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

THE METHODIST AUCTIONEER AT WASHINGTON.—There is a regular Auctioneer in Washington, of the name of A. Green. He advertises in the organs of both political parties. In the *National Intelligencer*, of the 20th of July last, he advertises as follows:—

SALE OF HOUSEHOLD AND KITCHEN FURNITURE.—On Thursday, the 30th instant, at 10 o'clock A.M., will be sold, at the auction rooms of the subscriber, a genteel lot of furniture, worthy the attention of housekeepers, as the sale must positively take place.

Terms of sale:—All sums of and under \$20, cash; over \$20, a credit of 60 and 90 days, for notes satisfactorily endorsed, bearing interest.

A. GREEN, Auctioneer.

Upon the same day, at five o'clock P.M., and at the same place, will be sold a very likely and valuable servant boy, about 17 years of age, a slave for life.

Terms of sale:—One half cash, and the balance in 60 days, to be secured by a note satisfactorily endorsed, bearing interest.

July 20.

A. GREEN, Auctioneer.

For some reason the sale did not come off on the 30th, and accordingly the *Intelligencer* of July 31st, contains the following:

SERVANT AT AUCTION.—The sale of the servant boy, advertised to take place at my store on Thursday, the 30th instant, is postponed until Thursday, the 6th of August, at five o'clock P.M., when the sale will positively take place at my auction store.

July 31.

A. GREEN, Auctioneer.

This Mr. Green is licensed by the city authorities, under authority from Congress. His office is on Pennsylvania Avenue, the great thoroughfare of the city, about midway between the capital and the president's house. He is himself a member, and, if we are correctly informed, a class-leader in one of the principal Methodist Episcopal churches in the city. One's spiritual exercises must be delightful after the sale of such "a boy." What a stench is such piety in the nostrils of all decent men! What a loathing to the God of heaven! A Christian selling "boys!" And on commission! O shame!

THE REV. WM. PLUMER, D.D.—A few years since this gentleman made quite a flourish at the North in his zeal to give the Bible within a limited time, to all the "accessible population" of the globe. Subsequently he was about equally conspicuous in his denunciations of Abolitionists. There is a law in Virginia taxing the income of individuals as well as their other property. The clergymen of Richmond feeling this law to be oppressive, recently agreed to test it, and selected Dr. Plumer to make the case. He accordingly refused to give the commissioner of the revenue any account of the amount of his income. This brought the case to court, and the commissioner being sworn, stated "that he called on Dr. Plumer for his taxable property and his income. Dr. P. gave him a list of his taxable property, consisting of slaves, horses, barouche, watches and piano, but refused," &c. Let all know, then, that the Rev. Wm. S. Plumer, D.D., of Richmond, Va., is a slave-holder, and that he reckons his "slaves" with his "taxable property." We gather these facts from the *Religious Herald*, Aug. 6, 1846.

DRAWING A METHODIST PREACHER FROM THE PULPIT AT THE SOUTH.—On the Peninsula, between the Chesapeake and

Delaware Bays is a Methodist circuit, called the Northampton Circuit, and included in the Philadelphia Conference. Not long since, the Rev. Mr. Early, a presiding elder of the Methodist Church, South, took occasion to lecture the people in that vicinity, respecting the danger of permitting "northern preachers"—that is, preachers of the Philadelphia Conference—to exercise their ministry there. A correspondent of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, under date of July 16, writes as follows:—

"I drop a line to inform you that acts of violence have been perpetrated on the Northampton Circuit, against our adhering brethren and their minister. On last Sunday, 12th inst., brother Gray, preacher in charge of Northampton Circuit, when about to commence the morning services in the Salem church, was assailed by a mob, seized in the pulpit, and forcibly taken out of the pulpit and church. On Monday, he and the brethren of Salem went to Eastville, the seat of justice for the county, the court being then in session: he was met then and there by the mob, and driven away from the seat of justice, without redress or protection. He left the country, his life being considered in danger if he remained. The alleged cause for this violence was, that he was a northern preacher. You will receive a more full and circumstantial detail of the matter in a short time."

The editor of the *Advocate and Journal* states further, that Mr. Gray, "had his coat torn, was severely choked and had some of his hair pulled out by the mob." Very appropriate Sabbath work, and very natural fruit of Elder Early's preaching! And it is but the first fruits of the persecutions that are to rage in all the slave-states, if the gospel is ever preached there in faithful condemnation of slavery.

A FOURTH OF JULY SCENE AT WASHINGTON.—The Washington correspondent of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, gives the following item in connection with the celebration of the 4th of July in that city:—

The coloured people here of the Methodist persuasion are about holding a fair for the purchase of their preacher! The price asked by his master is \$300. What a commentary upon the roaring cannon of the 4th of July, in commemoration of the day when it was asserted that all men are free and equal! A congregation cannot worship their Maker without purchasing their preacher! How these things make Europe laugh! How they ought to make all Christendom blush!

(From the Correspondence of the *Buffalo Daily Express*.)

Louisville, (Ky.) April 29, 1846.

Up to this time I had not been able to comprehend that the fine-looking, intelligent men and women of colour that I saw about me were chattels, the subjects of trade and barter, like my horse or my cow, but a public sale of slaves enabled me to comprehend the painful reality. A. B. had died, leaving certain debts to be paid by his administrators, and his stock of boys and girls (slaves) was brought to the hammer, according to law, in front of the Court House—the sheriff acting as auctioneer. Jack is produced and offered for sale. The sheriff says, "Gentlemen, the terms of sale are cash. I offer you this fine boy Jack—he is warranted sound and in good health; he is docile and ingenious; he is of good disposition. was very devoted to his late master; once saved his master's life while drowning, at the risk of his own; can't bear an Abolitionist. (A laugh.) How much am I offered for the boy Jack? Jack, how old are you?" "I reckon, massa, I am twenty-two or twenty-five years old—don't know, exactly." The sheriff says, speaking to his mother, "Snow-ball, how old is Jack?" "Reckon twenty, massa." "Well, Jack is from twenty to twenty-five years of age. How much is bid? \$200, 200, 200, 225, 225, 250, 250. Jack is a professor of religion. (300 by two bidders.) Religion sells high! 300, 300—Jack has no education—can't read or write; 350. Ignorance sells at the same price! 350, 350, 375, 400, 425, 430, 435, 440, 440, 440. Do I hear no more!—last call; bid quick, or gone. Gone." Jack is knocked off to a man with a broad hat, who wears a heavy gold chain across his bosom, a handsome bowie knife in his vest, and carries a huge cane in his hand.

During this dreadful scene, Jack's mother and sister stand by awaiting their turn. Need I say to humane readers that they were overwhelmed with grief and drowned in tears? Jack watched the bidding as intently as the victim would the knife that was either to sever his bonds, or send him to the other world. When a man bid who was known to be a kind master, his face would light up with joy; and a bid from a different quarter would cover his face with an expression of anguish that must be seen to be appreciated. When he was struck off, he turned pale and sank upon the ground in a picture of despair. I thought I could see beneath that dark skin

a white soul wrung by mortal agony. He had been purchased by a slave-dealer, who bought and sold men, women, and children to the sugar planters of Louisiana for gain. His new master seized him by the collar and dragged him away to jail, shaking his cane over his head and swearing, as only a slave-dealer can swear, that he would load him with irons and cure him of the hysterics. The sister, a comely female of nineteen years of age, was next offered, and sold, I believe, to a kind master. The mother was then offered for sale on time, for anybody's note without endorsement. She was sixty-five years of age, or more. She was a woman, and a mother, and a Christian, and her head was white with the blossoms of the grave. "The almond-tree had begun to flourish, and the grasshopper had become a burden;" and there were no bidders. God spare me from another such sight.

HORRIBLE.—A gentleman of this city, whose veracity may be absolutely relied on, lately related to the writer of this the following incident:—

He was at Clinton, in Mississippi, in March last. While sitting in the bar-room of the tavern, a fierce-looking man, armed with a gun, driving another man before him, and followed by a pack of savage dogs, entered the room, and came directly up to him. His manner, appearance, and attendants, at first created a little alarm. The stranger knowingly inquired, "Where is Squire —?" Our friend answered that he did not know him. "I mean," rejoined the fellow, "the man that keeps this tavern." At that moment, the tavern-keeper came in. "Squire," said he, "here's a nigger I've caught with my dogs, and I want to give him up to you." "I'm not a Squire, now," said the tavern-keeper; "you must go to Squire —."

Upon this, the man-hunter, his human prey, and his brute assistants, went off together. Our friend was shocked to learn that the scene was not regarded as at all extraordinary. Slave-catching with dogs, was a regular business in that part of the country.

The next day it was ascertained upon examination, that the person thus caught with dogs, was a poor white man, and no slave! The man was only a poor white man—a mistake had been made—a small mistake! The slave-holder was no doubt sorry for it. And so the thing passed off.

Say we not truly, that the whites must abolish slavery, if they would themselves be free?

A PAINFUL SCENE.—A painful scene was witnessed at Light-street Wharf, on Monday evening, according to the *Sun*. It seems that about seven o'clock, a coloured woman ran down Camden-street to the basin, and crossing one of the vessels lying there sprang overboard. Measures were immediately taken for her rescue by persons around, which proved successful, in spite of the most determined resistance, however, on her part. Upon being taken upon the deck of the vessel, she begged the bystanders to let her drown herself, that she would "sooner be dead than go back again to be beat as she had been." It was understood from some of the crowd that she had jumped out of the window of the place in which her owner had confined her, and immediately took the nearest route, to throw herself into the water. A short time after she was rescued she left the boat, and pursued her way along the wharf to Pratt-street, and down that street, making, during the time she was in view, several efforts to get near enough to the edge of the platform, to throw herself over, but she was foiled in these attempts by the crowd which followed her.

ACTION OF AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL BODIES.

THE OLD SCHOOL GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

This is the body with which the Free Church of Scotland is in direct and full fellowship. The body met at Philadelphia, May 21st, and the subject of slavery was early brought before it by the communications of other ecclesiastical bodies in correspondence with it; and also by memorials from some of its own churches and ministers. Among the communications was a letter from the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, another from the Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and two others from the General Associations of Connecticut and Massachusetts.

The Synod in Canada is a branch of the Scotch Free Church. Its letter was plain and faithful. For a time, its reading was endured by the Assembly, but it was quite too much. Very soon the clerk stammered and hesitated and pretended the writing was so bad that he could not well read it, and Dr. Musgrave, of

Baltimore, having lost all patience, moved to arrest the reading "on account in its indecorous and abusive language," whereupon the following discussion, greatly improved in its temper by the reporter of the *New York Observer*, from which we copy, ensued.

Dr. R. J. BRECKINRIDGE, hoped the reading would go on.

Mr. WATT, from Alabama, thought we should show that we can listen with undisturbed calmness to all that might be said on the subject.

Mr. REYNOLDS, from Tennessee, wished to show courtesy to all, but could not think it was our duty to allow ourselves to be abused to our face.

A member said, we read that if the righteous smite us, it shall be a kindness, and an excellent oil, which shall not break the skin of our head. Now we might put our foot on this synod, but this was a respectable body of Christians; this was a church, a Presbyterian Church, an old school, true blue Presbyterian Church. The question was, whether we should permit the righteous to smite us, and whether their reproof in our case was to prove an excellent oil.

Dr. R. J. BRECKINRIDGE said, we owe it to ourselves to pursue a dignified course, to hear with calmness whatever might be said on this subject. The more abusive language is, the more it becomes us to listen with patience. To refuse to hear would be a committal of this house to a rupture with a body with whom we have been in fraternal correspondence. But suppose that church should write a letter which would be a ground for breaking up the correspondence, should we not hear it? The whole thing would be open for any disposition the Assembly might see fit to make of it, after hearing the letter. We might answer, or we might not.

Dr. MUSGRAVE wished to explain. Personally he thought he had as much patience as most of his brethren. But we, as a public body, must take a stand somewhere in resisting the assaults made upon us. He had no doubt the Abolitionists were in correspondence with some of these foreign bodies. They had been excluded from this house; and now, through these channels, under the cover of courtesy, they were seeking to obtain a hearing. He thought it was due to the South to refuse them the opportunity. In regard to what had been said about the righteous smiting us, he would say that he should rejoice in it, if satisfied that they are righteous, that the rebuke is called for and administered in a Christian spirit. There was no novelty in referring papers without reading. True decorum requires that we should refuse to listen to those who treat us not only discourteously, but outrageously. I think I understand the evil of slavery, and therefore I wish to keep it out of this body.

Dr. MUSGRAVE had leave to withdraw his motion; the reading was concluded, and it was moved to refer the paper to the Committee on Correspondence, to be answered.

Dr. YOUNG could not conceive any reason that they had for insulting us. He thought that we ought to hear kindly; that self-respect requires us to listen. It is *prima facie* evidence that a man has some distrust of his principles or position, if he can not endure to hear them called in question. The man that is in the right can afford to be abused. He therefore advocated the hearing of the paper.

Dr. W. L. BRECKINRIDGE was opposed to this reference. It seemed to open the way for, and to invite, all kinds of people, all over the world, if they saw fit, to come and lecture this body. We might have to hear Mormons, and Quakers, &c. If I were the stated clerk, I should not wish to be the channel of such communications.

Dr. MCFARLAND was glad to have heard the paper through. That body is a Christian body—a useful body—but it was evident they had a morbid sensibility on this subject. He thought that we should not spread this communication on our minutes, to go to our churches. He would be in favour of returning the communication. Our self-respect, he thought, would not allow us to retain it, and that synod should be informed that the correspondence must be different, or cease altogether.

Rev. Mr. WILSON, of Cincinnati, was also glad that the letter had been read through. He supposed that we now have great doubts as to the expediency of continuing the correspondence. He would like to see a preamble and resolution setting forth that, inasmuch as the body from whom this communication comes, intimate doubts as to the propriety of continuing it, we at once declare it altogether inexpedient and undesirable. We should but take them at their word. When the smoke and dust of conflict on this subject have cleared away, they would see their error. They were now profoundly ignorant on the matter to which their communication referred.

Mr. FULLERTON.—The question is agitated whether we shall continue this correspondence. By discontinuing it we should cut ourselves off from the sympathy of the whole Christian world. Let us cut ourselves off from this synod in Canada, and next year we shall have to cut ourselves off from the Free Church of Scotland, the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, &c. The interest in the subject of slavery, and the investigation it was undergoing in every part of the civilized world, was one of the signs of the times. The South will have to stand alone; the North will not stand this foreign pressure. In 1834 we had correspondence with the Secession Church of Scotland. We then admitted that we had sinned

in this matter. Shall we now unsay all we have said? Shall we go back?

Dr. R. J. BRECKINRIDGE was not prepared to commit himself whether the letter should be answered, or how it should be answered, but he was very clear as to one thing, that the communication should be disposed of in the regular way. He made a great distinction between bodies with whom we are already in correspondence, and such as have no relations with us. It was due to ourselves, to truth, and to them, that this letter should take the usual course. We stand related to the people from whom it comes as near as we possibly can. We have the same confession, the same ancestry, and we are bound to them by solemn covenant. I take leave to say, said Dr. B., that I have carefully examined this subject for many years; and for one, without adopting every expression used in our published proceedings, I think the principles therein involved are to be maintained. I dissent from the preceding speaker on one of the most important points advanced by him—viz., the whole Christian world are against us on this subject. *The Free Church of Scotland occupies precisely the same ground that we do. And the time will come when the Presbyterian Church throughout the world will unite on the principles that were advanced by the last Assembly.* Let us do our duty, and let the heavens fall if they have a mind to fall.

The letter was referred to the Committee on Correspondence. Of this committee, R. J. Breckinridge, D.D., was chairman. On the Tuesday following, he, in behalf of the committee, reported an answer. It set forth that the Assembly has no more authority over slavery than the Synod of Canada has over the Popish superstitions which the British Government supports in Canada, or the Heathen abominations which it pensions in India. It concluded by recommending the discontinuance of the correspondence. The report was laid upon the table, and though called up several times subsequently was, finally, indefinitely postponed.

The same committee, June 1st, reported an answer to the letter of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, stating, that on the subject of slavery this church does not feel called on to defend itself against the calumnies of ignorant or corrupt men either at home or abroad, but that the testimony of its churches always has been, *that slavery, as an institution, is not to be defended, nor can scripturally be made a term of communion.* The answer was accepted and placed on the docket. The same committee reported, that the communication from the General Association of Connecticut be filed, and nothing more be done in regard to it.

DISPOSAL OF MEMORIALS.

Overtures on the subject of slavery were sent to the Assembly from five presbyteries; also a resolution of the Synod of Cincinnati, and a memorial from the first African church in Philadelphia. These were referred to the Committee on Bills and Overtures, of which Rev. J. C. Young, D.D., was chairman. The committee, after referring to the action of the Assembly in 1818 and 1845, recommended the adoption of a minute to the effect that "no further action on this subject is needed."

Mr. THOMAS said he objected to the report, because he believed it stated what was not true, and for other reasons.

Dr. YOUNG attempted to explain and defend it, maintaining that the church occupies the same ground now, so far as its testimony is concerned, which it always has occupied.

Mr. KERR moved an amendment—viz. that the following be added to the minute recommended, "except to say that the action of the Assembly of 1845 is not intended to deny or rescind the sentiments of the Assembly, expressed at different times, prior to this date."

The amendment was lost, and the original report, that no action is needed, was adopted by a vote of 119 to 34. The next day, however, on motion of Mr. R. M. White, the following resolution was passed:—"That the Assembly do not consider the action of 1845 as designed to deny or rescind the action of the General Assembly of any previous date."

When all Christendom are awaking and making advances in their views, feelings, and conduct in respect to human slavery, the glory of the Old School Presbyterian Church is, that it stands where it always has stood, and that is on the ground that slavery, as an institution, is a bad thing, but that the individual practice and support of it is no bar to a regular standing, and by consequence to the highest honours and offices in the church!

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF THE SLAVES.

But we must thank this Assembly for one testimony. In the "Narrative of the State of Religion within its Bounds," the Assembly says—

Another cheering token in the state of our church is the growing interest manifested in behalf of a portion of our population, which in every part of our land has been too much overlooked by Christians in

their efforts to promote the Redeemer's cause. We allude to the coloured people of this country. In the Southern States especially, means more enlarged, systematic, and efficient than have ever before been employed, are now in active operation, to diffuse among them the knowledge and blessing of the great salvation. Several of our ministers devote their whole time and strength to this department of labour, and through God's blessing with most cheering success.

Nor are such efforts confined to those who devote themselves exclusively to this work; the ministers and members of our church generally have enlisted in this work of faith and labour of love, with a zeal unprecedented in any period of our church's history, and which the Assembly hope will still increase from year to year.

It is not important to inquire here how extensive these efforts are. It is enough to know, on the testimony of the General Assembly, that they are "more enlarged, systematic, and efficient than have ever before been employed," and are prosecuted "with a zeal, unprecedented in any period of our church's history." What, then, becomes of the slander about the abolition movement depriving the slaves of their religious privileges?

AN ANTI-SLAVERY PRESBYTERIAN ASSEMBLY.

The Presbytery of Ripley, Ohio, has withdrawn from the General Assembly, and has sent a Circular to sister presbyteries, calling upon them to send delegates to Cincinnati next May, who shall be authorized to organize a new General Assembly, in case the existing body will not deal faithfully with slave-holders.

Slavery must go out of the church—the word has gone forth from many earnest hearts in Britain and America, and the voice will be heeded. It clings with the tenacity of a death grasp to the horns of the altar, but it will either be slain there, or compelled to find refuge in some place more befitting its detestable character.

The *Watchman of the Valley*, the able organ of Presbyterianism in the West, says:—

On one point we are decided—*Slavery and we must part*. Let it once be settled that our branch of the church cannot be cured of this "intrinsically unrighteous, oppressive, law-transgressing, gospel-opposing, malevolent system," and the question of duty with us is at the same time settled. An Anti-slavery Presbyterian Church in the United States, we must have. Our first aim is to secure one of that character, practically, in our present organization, because we deprecate division. But if that is impossible, either on account of pro-slavery affinities or constitutional barriers, then a new branch of the church must be organized. This is the sentiment, we believe, of many thousand Presbyterians in the United States. The duty of separation from all responsible connection with slave-holding, is a rapidly growing sentiment in our Northern churches generally. Our New England brethren, as appears from the minutes of their late associations, are seriously deliberating on the question, whether slavery in our church ought not to be a bar to future correspondence with us. We would not give up our church in despair however, until hope, and prayer, and effort, have had their perfect work. May the Lord make plain the path of duty before us all. — *Union Missionary*.

THE LIBERTY PARTY.

Our readers are aware that there has been much discussion in the anti-slavery papers, within the last year, respecting the propriety of making the Liberty party cover, in its scope and aim, the whole ground of right civil government, instead of limiting it, for the time, to the one single object of the overthrow of slavery and the security of personal liberty to all. Our limits, as well as engagements, have prevented our taking part in these discussions in the *Reporter*. We have not, however, been an uninterested looker-on. The result of the discussion has been what we have anticipated and desired. It is thus summed up by the *Emancipator* of August 5th, and to it we give our hearty Amen.

The scope, objects, principles and policy of the Liberty party are well known, and remain unaltered. Attempts have been made in influential quarters, to change its character, with the hope of thereby giving it greater favour in the sight of the people, and a brighter hope of speedy triumph. But the three great conventions which have been held since the election of 1844, the South-western at Cincinnati, the Eastern at Boston, and the North-western at Chicago, have united in re-affirming our "One Idea," our platform of union to be that of making the peaceful and constitutional abolition of slavery the first grand, leading, paramount object of political effort, and that we will conscientiously leave all other questions of national policy outside of our party arrangements, to be settled as they may by the ordinary course of political events, without making them party measures, or to any extent settling them. We have first got out of the way the GRAND DISTURBANCE, and we are chiefly indebted for our present deleteriousness of party divisions. We must, therefore, consider the Liberty

party as fully and finally committed to this issue alone: by this it must stand or fall. If, as we sincerely believe, it is wisely chosen, if it is adapted to the circumstances of the country, and the gracious designs of the God of our fathers, we shall conquer by this token. If not, let it dissolve when it shall have done its work of making a full experiment of its practicability, and let it give place to some political combination which shall be more wisely organized for advocating and securing the principles of liberty. But we expect no such thing. We have looked again over the ground, and we cheerfully renew our fealty to the Liberty party as the destined poetical deliverer of the slave and of our country.

We think the experience of the Anti-corn Law League in Great Britain full of instruction on this question. After some of the earliest friends of that movement gave out in despair, saying that nothing short of complete suffrage and the abolition of all class legislation would meet the case, the leaders of the League set themselves and rallied their friends anew to the "one idea" of abolishing the Corn Laws, and severely, but gloriously have they won the victory. So may the friends of freedom in this country triumph over the worst of all class legislation—slavery. With one heart, and one mind, and one object, let us then gird ourselves anew to our work.—*American Anti-slavery Reporter*.

THE BIBLE ARGUMENT AGAINST SLAVERY.—No. 6.

WERE SERVANTS FORCED TO WORK WITHOUT PAY?

As the servants became and continued such of *their own accord*, it would be no small marvel if they *chose* to work without pay. Their becoming servants pre-supposes *compensation* as a motive. That they *were paid* for their labour we argue:

1. BECAUSE GOD REBUKED THE USING OF SERVICE WITHOUT WAGES. "Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; THAT USETH HIS NEIGHBOUR'S SERVICE WITHOUT WAGES, AND GIVETH HIM NOT FOR HIS WORK." Jer. xxii. 13. The Hebrew word *rea*, translated *neighbour*, means any one with whom we have to do—all descriptions of persons, even those who prosecute us in lawsuits, and enemies while in the act of fighting us—"As when a man riseth against his NEIGHBOUR and slayeth him." Deut. xxii. 26. "Go not forth hastily to strive, lest thou know not what to do in the end thereof, when thy NEIGHBOUR hath put thee to shame." (Prov. xxv. 8.) "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy NEIGHBOUR." (Ex. xx. 16.) "If a man come presumptuously upon his NEIGHBOUR to slay him with guile." (Ex. xxi. 14, &c.) The doctrine plainly inculcated in this passage is, that every man's labour, or "service" being his own property, he is entitled to the profit of it, and that for another to "use" it, without paying him the value of it, is "unrighteousness." The last clause of the verse, "and giveth him not for his work," re-affirms the same principle, that every man is to be *paid* for "his work." In the context, the prophet contrasts the unrighteousness of those who used the labours of others without pay, with the justice and equity practised by their patriarchal ancestor toward the poor. "Did not thy father eat and drink, and *do judgment and justice*, and then it was well with him. He *judged the cause of the poor and needy*; then it was well with him. But thine eyes and thine heart are not but for thy *covetousness*, and for to shed innocent blood, and for *oppression*, and for violence to do it." (Jer. xxii. 15, 16, 17.)

2. GOD TESTIFIES THAT IN OUR DUTY TO OUR FELLOW-MEN, ALL THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS HANG UPON THIS COMMAND, "THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF." Our Saviour, in giving this command, quoted *verbatim* one of the laws of the Mosaic system. (Lev. xix. 18.) In the 34th verse of the same chapter, Moses applies this law to the treatment of strangers, "The stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and THOU SHALT LOVE HIM AS THYSELF." If it be loving others *as ourselves* to make them work for us without pay, to rob them of food and clothing also would be a stronger illustration still of the law of love! Super-disinterested benevolence! And if it be doing unto others as we would have them do to us, to make them work for *our own* good alone, Paul should be called to order for his hard sayings against human nature, especially for that libellous matter in Eph. v. 29, "No man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth it and cherisheth it."

3. SERVANTS WERE OFTEN WEALTHY. As persons became servants FROM POVERTY, we argue that they were compensated, since they frequently owned property, and sometimes



a large amount. Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth, gave David "two hundred loaves of bread, and a hundred bunches of raisins, and a hundred of summer fruits, and a bottle of wine." (2 Sam. xvi. 1.) The extent of his possessions can be inferred from the fact, that though the father of fifteen sons, he had twenty servants. In Lev. xxv. 47—49, where a servant, reduced to poverty, sold himself, it is declared that he may be *redeemed*, either by his kindred, or by HIMSELF. Having been forced to sell himself from poverty, he must have acquired considerable property *after* he became a servant. If it had not been common for servants to acquire property over which they had the control, the servant of Elisha would hardly have ventured to take a large sum of money (nearly \$3000) from Naaman. (2 Kings v. 22, 23.) As it was procured by deceit, he wished to conceal the means used in getting it; but if servants could "own nothing, nor acquire anything," to embark in such an enterprise would have been consummate stupidity. The fact of having in his possession two talents of silver, would, of itself, convict him of theft. But since it was common for servants to own property, he might have it, and invest or use it, without attracting special attention; and that consideration alone would have been a strong motive to the act. His master, though he rebuked him for using such means to get the money, not only does not take it from him, but seems to expect that he would invest it in real estate, and cattle, and would procure servants with it. (2 Kings v. 26.) We find the servant of Saul having money, and relieving his master in an emergency. (1 Sam. ix. 8.) Arza, the servant of Elah, was the *owner of a house*. That it was somewhat magnificent would be a natural inference, from its being a resort of the king. (1 Kings xvi. 9.) When Jacob became the servant of Laban, it was evidently from poverty, yet Laban said to him, "Tell me, what shall thy *wages* be?" After Jacob had been his servant for ten years, he proposed to set up for himself; but Laban said, "Appoint me thy wages, and I will give it," and he paid him his price. During the twenty years that Jacob was a servant, he always worked for wages, and at his own price. (Gen. xxix. 15, 18; xxx. 28—33.) The case of the Gibeonites, who, after becoming servants, still occupied their cities, and remained, in many respects, a distinct people for centuries; and that of the 150,000 Canaanites, the *servants* of Solomon, who worked out their "tribute of bond-service" in levies, periodically relieving each other, are additional illustrations of independence in the acquisition and ownership of property.

Again. The Israelites often *hired* servants from the strangers, (Deut. xxiv. 17.)

Since then it is certain that they gave wages to a part of their Canaanitish servants, thus recognising their *right* to a reward for their labour, we infer that they did not rob the rest of their earnings.

If God gave them a licence to make the strangers work for them without pay—if this was good and acceptable in His sight and *right and just in itself*, they must have been great fools to have wasted their money by paying wages when they could have saved it, by making the strangers do all their work for nothing! Besides by refusing to avail themselves of this "Divine licence," they despised the blessing and cast contempt on the giver! But far be it from us to do the Israelites injustice; perhaps they seized all the Canaanites they could lay their hands on, and forced them to work without pay, but, not being able to catch enough to do their work, were obliged to offer wages in order to eke out the supply!

The parable of our Lord, contained in Mat. xviii. 23—34, not only derives its significance from the fact, that servants can both *own* and *owe* and *earn* property, over which they had the control, but would be made a medley of contradictions on any other supposition.—1. Their lord at a set time proceeded to "take account" and "reckon" with his servants: the phraseology itself showing that the relations between the parties, were those of debt and credit. 2. As the reckoning went on, one of his servants was found to *owe* him ten thousand talents. From the fact that the servant *owed* this to his master, we naturally infer, that he must have been at some time, and in some way, the responsible *owner* of that amount, or of its substantial equivalent. Not that he had had that amount put into his hands to invest, or disburse, in his master's name, merely as his *agent*—for in that case no claim of *debt* for value received would lie—but, that having sustained the responsibilities of legal *proprietaryship*, he was under the liabilities resulting therefrom. 3. Not having on hand wherewith to pay, he says to his master "have patience with me, and I will pay thee *all*." If the servant had been his master's *property*, his time and earnings belonged to the master as a matter of course; hence the

promise to earn and pay over that amount, was virtually saying to his master, "I will take money out of your pocket with which to pay my debt to you," thus adding insult to injury. The promise of the servant to pay the debt on condition that the time for payment should be postponed, not only proceeds upon the fact that his time was his own, that he was constantly earning property or in circumstances that enabled him to earn it, and that he was the *proprietor* of his earnings, but that his master had *full knowledge* of that fact.—In a word, the supposition that the master was the *owner* of the servant, would annihilate all legal claim upon him for value received, and that the servant was the *property* of the master would absolve him from all obligations of debt, or rather would always *forestall* such obligations—for the relations of owner and creditor in such case would annihilate each other, as would those of *property* and *debtor*. The fact that the same servant was the creditor of one of his fellow servants, who owed him a considerable sum, and that at last he was imprisoned until he should pay all that was due to his master, are additional corroborations of the same point.

4. **HEIRSHIPS.**—Servants frequently inherited their master's property; especially if he had no sons, or if they had dishonoured the family. Eliezer, the servant of Abraham (Gen. xv. 23); Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth; Jarha, the servant of Sheshan, who married his daughter, and thus became his heir, he having no sons, and the *husbandmen* who said of their master's son, "This is the *heir*, let us kill him, and the *inheritance will be ours*," are illustrations; also Prov. xxx. 23, an *handmaid* (or *maid-servant*), that is *heir* to her mistress; also Prov. xvii. 2—"A wise servant shall have rule over a son that causeth shame, and *shall have part of the inheritance among the brethren*." This passage gives servants the precedence as heirs, even over the wives and daughters of their masters. Did masters hold by force, and plunder of earnings, a class of persons, from which, in frequent contingencies, they selected both heirs for their property, and husbands for their daughters

5. **ALL WERE REQUIRED TO PRESENT OFFERINGS AND SACRIFICES.** (Deut. xvi. 16, 17; 2 Chron. xv. 9—11; Numb. ix. 13, 14.) Beside this, "every man" from twenty years old and above, was required to pay a tax of half a shekel at the taking of the census; this is called an "offering unto the Lord to make an atonement for their souls." (Ex. xxx. 12—16. See also Ex. xxxiv. 20.) Servants must have had permanently the means of *acquiring* property to meet these expenditures.

6. **SERVANTS WHO WENT OUT AT THE SEVENTH YEAR, WERE "FURNISHED LIBERALLY."** (Deut. xv. 10—14.) "Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine press; of that wherewith the Lord thy God hath blessed thee, thou shalt give him." If it be said that the servants from the strangers did not receive a like bountiful supply, we answer, neither did the most honorable class of *Israelitish* servants, the free-holders; and for the same reason, *they did not go out in the seventh year*, but continued until the jubilee. If the fact that the Gentile servants did not receive such a *gratuity* proves that they were robbed of their *earnings*, it proves that the most valued class of *Hebrew* servants were robbed of theirs also; a conclusion too stubborn for even pro-slavery masticators, however unscrupulous.

7. **SERVANTS WERE BOUGHT.** In other words, they received compensation in advance. Having shown, under a previous head, that servants *sold themselves*, and of course received the compensation for themselves, except in cases where parents hired out the time of their children till they became of age, a mere reference to the fact is all that is required for the purposes of this argument. As all the strangers in the land were required to pay an annual tribute to the government, the Israelites might often "buy" them as family servants, by stipulating with them to pay their annual tribute. This assumption of their obligations to the government might cover the whole of the servant's time of service, or a part of it, at the pleasure of the parties.

8. **THE RIGHT OF SERVANTS TO COMPENSATION IS RECOGNISED IN Ex. xxi. 27.** "And if he smite out his man-servant's, or his maid-servant's tooth, he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake." "This regulation is manifestly based upon the *right* of the servant to the *use* of himself and all his powers, faculties and personal conveniences, and consequently his just claim for remuneration, upon him, who should, however *unintentionally*, deprive him of the use even of the least of them. If the servant had a right to his *tooth* and the use of it, upon the same principle, he had a right to

the rest of his body and the use of it. If he had a right to the *fraction*, and if it was his to hold, to use, and to have pay for, he had a right to the *sum total*, and it was his to hold, to use, and to have pay for.

9. WE FIND MASTERS AT ONE TIME HAVING A LARGE NUMBER OF SERVANTS, AND AFTERWARDS NONE, WITH NO INTIMATION IN ANY CASE THAT THEY WERE SOLD. The wages of servants would enable them to set up in business for themselves. Jacob, after being Laban's servant for twenty-one years, became thus an independent herdsman, and had many servants. (Gen. xxx. 43; xxxii. 16.) But all these servants had left him before he went down into Egypt, having doubtless acquired enough to commence business for themselves. (Gen. xlv. 10, 11; xlv. 1—7, 32.) The case of Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth, who had twenty servants, has been already mentioned.

10. GOD'S TESTIMONY TO THE CHARACTER OF ABRAHAM. (Gen. xviii. 19.) "For I know him that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep THE WAY OF THE LORD TO DO JUSTICE AND JUDGMENT." God here testifies that Abraham taught his servants "the way of the Lord." What was the "way of the Lord" respecting the payment of wages where service was rendered? "Wo unto him that useth his neighbour's service WITHOUT WAGES!" (Jer. xxii. 13.) "Masters, give unto your servants that which is JUST AND EQUAL." (Col. iv. 1.) "Render unto all their DUES." (Rom. xiii. 7.) "The labourer is WORTHY OF HIS HIRE." (Luke x. 7.) How did Abraham teach his servants to "do justice" to others? By doing injustice to them? Did he exhort them to "render to all their dues" by keeping back *their own*? Did he teach them that "the labourer was worthy of his hire" by robbing them of *theirs*? Did he beget in them a reverence for honesty by pilfering all their time and labour? Did he teach them "not to defraud" others "in any matter" by denying them "what was just and equal?" If each of Abraham's pupils under such a catechism did not become a very *Aristides* in justice, then illustrious examples, patriarchal dignity, and *practical* lessons, can make but slow headway against human perverseness!

11. SPECIFIC PRECEPTS OF THE MOSAIC LAW ENFORCING GENERAL PRINCIPLES. Out of many, we select the following: 1. "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn." (Deut. xxv. 4.) Here is a general principle applied to a familiar case. The ox representing all domestic animals. (Isa. xxx. 24.) A *particular* kind of service, *all* kinds; and a law requiring an abundant provision for the wants of an animal ministering to man in a *certain* way—a general principle of treatment covering all times, modes, and instrumentalities of service. The object of the law was, not merely to enjoin tenderness towards brutes, but to inculcate the duty of rewarding those who serve us; and if such care be enjoined by God both for the ample sustenance and present enjoyment of a *brute*, what would be a meet return for the services of *man*—MAN with his varied wants, exalted nature, and immortal destiny? Paul says expressly that this principle lies at the bottom of the statute. 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10, "For it is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen? Or saith he it altogether for OUR sakes? that he that plougheth should plough in HOPE, and that he that thresheth in hope should be PARTAKER OF HIS HOPE." In the context, Paul enumerates the four grand divisions of labour among the Jews in illustration of the principle that the labourer, whatever may be the service he performs, is entitled to a *reward*. The priests, Levites, and all engaged in sacred things—the military, those who tended flocks and herds, and those who cultivated the soil. As the latter employment engaged the great body of the Israelites, the apostle amplifies his illustration under that head by much detail—and enumerates the five great departments of agricultural labour among the Jews—vine-dressing, ploughing, sowing, reaping, and threshing, as the representatives of universal labour. In his epistle to Timothy (1 Tim. v. 18) Paul quotes again this precept of the Mosaic law, and connects with it the declaration of our Lord (Luke x. 7), "The labourer is worthy of his hire," as both inculcating the *same* doctrine, that he who labours, whatever the employment, or whoever the labourer, is entitled to a reward. The apostle thus declares the principle of right respecting the performance of service for others, and the rule of duty towards those who perform it to be the same under both dispensations. 2. "If thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him, YEA, THOUGH HE BE A STRANGER or a SOJOURNER that he may live with thee.

Take no usury of him, or increase, but fear thy God. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase." (Lev. xxv. 35—37.) Now, we ask, by what process of pro-slavery legerdemain this regulation can be made to harmonize with the doctrine of WORK WITHOUT PAY? Did God declare the poor stranger entitled to RELIEF, and in the same breath authorize them to "use his service without wages," force him to work, and ROB HIM OF HIS EARNINGS?"

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1st, 1846.

In the last number of the REPORTER we directed attention to certain rules which had been issued by Lord Harris, the Governor of Trinidad, abridging the liberty of the Coolie immigrants, who had been recently introduced into that colony. The last mail brought us further intelligence on this important subject, which will be found in another part of our columns.

Had we not the evidence of our eyes for it, we could not have believed that any functionary, however elevated he might be in any of the British colonies, would have dared to have given his sanction to such a document as that to which we refer. It may be regarded as an epitome of the slave code which formerly prevailed in Trinidad, and with such a man as Major Fagan to administer it, it will be found nearly as cruel and oppressive.

By the new regulations which have been issued, the Coolies are deprived of the liberty of choice both as to employments and employers; they are to be divided into gangs of twenty-five and fifty each to secure to the cocoa and sugar planters an equal share in the general benefit to be derived from their labour. And their distribution will be, as heretofore, in the hands of the immigration agent, or the Coolie magistrate. They are deprived of the right of making their own terms with the planters, or selling their labour in the best market. The wages to be given to each male Coolie is five rupees, to each female Coolie three rupees, and to each boy, under twelve years, three rupees per month, together with a certain supply of rice, &c., as rations, the whole of which will not equal one half the amount of wages paid to the Creole labourers for the same amount of work that will be exacted from them. They are not to be allowed to clothe themselves, but the superintending magistrate, Major Fagan, whenever he visits the estates, is to inquire into the state of their clothing, and to authorize the renewal of such articles as they may appear deficient in from the manager's stores, who is to repay himself their value out of their wages. The hours of their labour are fixed from six in the morning until four in the afternoon, allowing them one hour only for rest and refreshment, out of crop; but during that season which lasts from five to six months, and whenever any extra labour has to be performed, the Coolies are to work as long as the other labourers on the estate, though the latter may be induced by extra pay to prolong their labours into the night. The Coolies are deprived of the right of locomotion; they are not to be permitted to leave the estates to which they have been attached without a ticket of leave, which is to specify their names, periods of absence, and localities to be visited, and the police are ordered to take into custody any of them unprovided with such tickets of leave, charging the expense connected with the execution of these orders on the managers, who are to indemnify themselves on the next ensuing issue of pay. The Coolies are denied the right of choosing new masters at the expiry of their contracts of labour, unless they produce certificates of regular discharge from their late employers, by whose statements others requiring their services, are to be guided.

Such is a brief outline of the new slave-code of Trinidad. Of course the noble lord at the head of the colonial department will refuse his sanction to it, if on no other ground, on that of its absolute illegality.

It is said that Lord Harris has yielded his judgment to that of Major Fagan, whose knowledge of the Coolies was considered so perfect as to qualify and warrant him to make laws for their disposal and government. But we think that no apology can be offered for the noble lord under the circumstances of the case. In the regulations which have been issued, we see the character of Major Fagan fully portrayed; and we do earnestly protest against his being continued in the office which he now holds, and which gives him almost absolute power over those whom he was appointed to protect and defend.

Some traits in the Coolie character have already begun to excite the attention of the executive; among these we may mention indecency, idleness, and a tendency to drunkenness.

It appears that the Coolies are frequently met in the public roads and in the neighbourhood of estates almost in a state of nudity, and that so great is their propensity to lie down and smoke while at work, and to seize every available opening for evading it, as to require the strictest surveillance of their conduct while at labour. Already on several of the estates they have begun to indulge in rum drinking; in many instances selling their rations to procure this deleterious liquor. If we add to this their well-known licentious character and idolatrous practices, we may well fear for the advancing civilization of the emancipated negroes.

The whole question of immigration into the British colonies must undergo a complete investigation. To waste the resources of the colonies upon imported labour, which will never repay the original and incidental outlay, is impolitic as an economical arrangement, and wholly unjust to those who are compelled to bear the expense without deriving any advantage from it.

The final decision of the Evangelical Alliance on the subject of slavery, was altogether unexpected. It was brought about by the protests, remonstrances, and united action of the great majority of the American delegates. They feared the consequences to themselves, should the original report on slavery and slave-holding, which stood part of the minutes of the Alliance, be allowed to continue there, and bind them to the exclusion of all slave-holders who were so "by their own fault," or "for purposes of gain." They well knew, whatever hypothetical cases they produced to the contrary, that the rule, faithfully applied, would have severed them from their brethren in the south, and that an interchange of pulpits and fraternal intercourse would have been impossible, if that report had been maintained. They well knew that if the innocence of their slave-holding brethren depended upon the proof that they sustained the relation against their own wills, and from an imperious and all-controlling necessity; or that they continued the relation solely for the benefit of the slave, their guilt would stand blazoned before the world. "If," says the Rev. James Smylie, a Presbyterian minister of Mississippi, in his defence of American slavery, "If it be a sin, and advertising and apprehending slaves, with a view to restore them to their masters, is a direct violation of the divine law—and if the *buying, selling, or holding* a slave FOR THE SAKE OF GAIN, is a heinous sin and a scandal—then, verily, *three-fourths* of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, in eleven states of the Union, are of the devil." Nor was this reverend gentleman wrong in his conclusion; for so far from the churches in the south admitting the sinfulness of slavery, they defend it as a Bible institution, "in accordance with the example, or consistent with the precepts, of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles;" and that to maintain it to be "necessarily sinful," and, therefore, "to be immediately abolished," is "directly and palpably contrary to the plainest principles of common sense and common humanity, and to the clearest authority of the Word of God." Now the American delegates knew, if their English brethren did not, that this is the language of presbyteries, synods, conferences, and other associations throughout the entire south. Nor could they produce a single testimony of any organized ecclesiastical body to the contrary.

The fact is, the southern professors of religion for many years past have thrown off all disguise on this subject, and claimed the BIBLE for the defence of slavery. The pulpit and the press, the ecclesiastical meeting and the social circle; books, pamphlets, sermons, reviews, letters, newspaper articles, lectures at college institutions, and speeches at public meetings, have been formally and deliberately employed to prove slavery a divine institution, "a merciful visitation," "the Lord's doing, and marvellous in our eyes!" We know what we affirm, and can prove what we say.

Moreover, these delegates knew that some of their most eminent theological professors, the brightest ornaments of their schools, had sustained the southern churches in their defence of slavery from the BIBLE. Dr. Hodge, of Princeton College, affirms that "the argument from the conduct of Christ and his immediate followers, seems to us decisive on the point, 'that slavery is not universally and necessarily sinful;' and that an obvious deduction from this is, 'that slave-holding, in itself considered, is not a crime.'" And a greater man than he, Dr. Moses Stuart, of Andover College,

gives it as his opinion that slavery is not *malum in se*, and that the relation of slave-holder may exist, "*salvâ fide et salvâ ecclesiâ*," without violating the Christian faith or the church. He even descends to coarseness in his assaults on those who maintain the opposite doctrines; for, he adds, "After all the spouting and vehemence on this subject, the *good old Book* remains the same," that is, in its teachings respecting slavery.

Such being the case, we wonder not at the extreme anxiety of the American members of the Alliance, with a few honourable exceptions, to get the report rescinded. We verily believe that, rather than be the bearers of that report to the United States, they would have broken up the Alliance, or at least, withdrawn from it.

The conduct of the American delegation was in keeping with their ordinary proceedings in the United States. They stand aloof from the Abolitionists. They vituperate them all, though they well know that their strictures apply to a section—and that, too, a small section—of the general body. During their stay in England some of them used the arts of misrepresentation so skilfully as to impose upon the simple-minded and the ignorant. But the secrets of American slavery and its supporters can no longer be hid, and we will do our best to drag both to the light.

With respect to the report itself, we observe, it was a poor affair, utterly unworthy of a grave and Christian body such as the Evangelical Alliance assumed to be. It was built upon a compromise. It condemned slavery, but made a loop-hole for slave-holders to creep through, if their consciences would permit. We rejoice, therefore, that it was rescinded, though we cannot but express our condemnation of the motives and the reasonings which led to it.

The Evangelical Alliance having broken ground on the subject of slavery, was bound to maintain it, whatever might have been the result. In the course, however, which it has taken, it has shown great infirmity of purpose and an unworthy succumbing to the slave power, that was both unmanly and unchristian. They were bound to bear a solemn protest against American slavery; to record that protest in the face of the whole Christian world; and to call upon every branch of the American Church implicated in upholding it to repent, and "bring forth fruits meet for repentance," and then they would be welcome to its embrace. A noble opportunity for pleading the cause of suffering humanity, and of vindicating the sacred Scriptures from the profanations of slave-holders, has been lost; nevertheless, the Alliance may congratulate itself upon its escape from the entanglements thrown around it by the adoption of the original report. It remains to be seen what course the British members will take now that the question is thrown open again. Will they stand by their former testimonies; or will they, for the sake of peace with the American churches, consent to be silent? We would respectfully and earnestly press upon them the duty of proclaiming, in terms that cannot be misunderstood, that they will have no fellowship with slave-holders under any circumstance or pretexts whatsoever.

We are told that the arrangements finally determined upon, will, in their working, shut out slave-holders from the Evangelical Alliance. We trust it may be so, though we must confess that we require other guarantees than that of individual opinions to assure us of this. It is quite clear the American and Continental sectional Alliances are left at liberty to admit slave-holders without any restriction whatsoever, and that they will do so there can be but little doubt: thus we shall have the strange anomaly presented to us of the foreign divisions being at variance with the main body.

We are much gratified to learn that a full and authentic report of the proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance in relation to slavery will be published; that is as it should be. From it the Christian world will learn the real facts of the case, and we shall be delighted to find that those honoured individuals, who, in former times, struggled for the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions, were not false to their professions, nor recreant to the cause of human liberty.

We beg to call the attention of our readers to the important letter of the Rev. Wm. Brock, of Norwich, contained in another part of our columns. The thanks of the Anti-slavery body are due to him for this exposure of the attempt on the part of the Rev. M. M. Clarke, of the United States, to defend American slave-owners, and to cover up the iniquities of the hideous system they sustain. Mr. Clarke is a man of colour, and unhappily, like some others of his own class, takes part with the strong against the

weak, the oppressor against the oppressed. Coming, however, from a slave district where he is permitted to exercise the office of a minister, and knowing, probably, the fate that would await him if he dared honestly and truly expose his patrons, he has become the apologist of an evil which he was bound to denounce. The reception which he met with at Norwich will, however, have taught him the folly of his course, and that whatever public meetings he may attend in future in this country, he must confine his attention to subjects of a far different character than those he ventured upon at Norwich.

We know not whether Mr. Clarke is travelling under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance; but should it turn out to be the case that he has received their sanction and countenance, we urgently call on the executive department of that body in this country to withdraw it, and condemn the course which he has taken.

In another part of this paper will be found a condensed report of the recent meeting held at Exeter Hall by the Anti-slavery League. The object of that meeting was to denounce the proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance in relation to American slavery. The subject was an inviting one, and the Hall was, in consequence, well filled. Our own views in relation to the Alliance in its bearing in the anti-slavery question, will be found in another place.

We need scarcely say, that we deeply sympathize with every well-directed effort against slavery, and as sincerely regret that circumstances should exist to prevent active, united, and cordial co-operation among the different sections of Abolitionists in the United States. But as these circumstances do exist, and have given rise to two leading societies in America, and their difference of operation has been imported into this country, we propose succinctly to notice just so much as may be necessary to explain our position in regard to them.

The fundamental principles of the two societies are the same, but their modes of operation are diverse and opposed. The one is designated the American Anti-slavery Society, which is headed by William Lloyd Garrison, and men who generally sympathize with his peculiar principles. The other is the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, whose representatives are the Tappans, and men of that school. The latter society links itself with the great liberty party in the United States, which consists of Abolitionists who feel it to be their duty to carry their principles to the ballot box, and to return none to office, either in the state or federal government, who do not agree with them in their principles. The American Anti-slavery Society, on the other hand, avows its hostility to this mode of action. In making this brief statement, it will be perceived that we avoid entering into the controversies which have arisen in the United States between those who formerly acted together in the anti-slavery cause. But in answer to inquiries, and for the information of our readers, we simply observe that, approving most cordially of the fundamental principles of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery society, and, generally, of its modes of action, the executive Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society recognise it, and its kindred associations, as more legitimately expressing their views than any other organization in the United States.

The disclosures which have been made during many years past of the utter incompetency of an armed force to suppress the slave-trade, has begun to excite public attention, and it now is almost universally felt to be the duty of the Government to put an end to the present system, and to occupy itself with other means less objectionable in their character, and likely to be more efficient in their results. A letter will be found in the present *Reporter* which briefly, but very clearly shows the necessity for the change.

ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR, PHILADELPHIA.

Contributions of articles for sale in Philadelphia, the proceeds of which will be appropriated to the promotion of the abolition of slavery in the United States, may be sent as under any time before the 20th of the tenth month (October) next. Contributions in money forwarded to Joseph Sturge, Birmingham, would be expended in manufactured articles.

BRISTOL.....	Fanny Tribe, No. 9, Portland-street, Kingsdown.
BATH	M. P. Blair, Bathwick-hill.
"	Louisa Cotterell.
BIRMINGHAM	Lydia E. Sturge, Edgbaston.
"	Anne M. Goodrick, ditto.
LIVERPOOL	Caroline Thompson.
"	Isabella Thompson.
LONDON.....	Sarah Ann Alexander, Church-street, Stoke Newington.
"	Maria K. Merrington, 27, New Broad-street.
BELGRAVE, nr. LEICESTER..	Priscilla Ellis
KENDAL.....	Anna Braithwaite, jun.
LEEDS	Sarah Grace Harvey, 13, Briggate.
MONKBRIDGE, nr. YORK	Abigail Taylor.
WORCESTER	Catharine Burlingham
NOTTINGHAM	Lucy Maria Woods
BRIGHTON	Sarah Bass, jun.
READING	Elizabeth Christy.
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE	Anna H. Richardson.
DARLINGTON	Sarah Pease.
CHELTHENHAM	Rebecca Yerbury.
NORWICH.....	Eliza P. Gurney.
GLOUCESTER	Sarah Jane Bowly.
EXETER, Cathedral-close	Sarah Eliza Dymond.
BELFAST	Maria Webb.
SHEFFIELD.....	Jane Smith.
PLYMOUTH.....	Abigail Bishop.

For the information of those who are kindly disposed to contribute, it may be stated, that the following are some of the articles that would be very acceptable. Engravings of distinguished, religious, philanthropic or literary characters, drawings or models of their residences; simple implements, such as rulers or paper-folders, manufactured from articles belonging to them; autographs, new devices in worsted work, net worsted shawls, neck-ties, papier maché articles, purses, needle-books, &c. &c.

Poetry.

The steamer, *Lucy Walker*, exploded in the autumn of 1844, on the Ohio, about five miles below Louisville, when a slave-dealer named Ford, who had forty full-grown slaves on board, perished, together with about ten other white men. When the bodies were drawn up from the wreck, Ford was found with his neck twisted into the chain that bound the unfortunate negroes together, having perished with his victims—the tyrant and slave involved in one common doom.

The broad Ohio rolls along
His headlong waves to reach the deep,
His mighty currents, still and strong,
Their downward course for ever keep.

The forest on his shores waved high,
Each tree its varied hues put on,
And radiant 'neath an autumn sky,
Their brilliant foliage glittering shone.

That morn a stately vessel sailed
From her safe port at early day;
Thin folds of vapour, curling, veiled
Her form as she pursued her way.

At distance seen among the trees,
It coils in many a spiral wreath;
And floating on the gentle breeze,
Follows the vessel's track beneath.

Upon her crowded decks appear
The motley actors on life's stage:
The youth's firm tread, and visage clear;
The bowed and trembling form of age.

The grave, the gay, the good, the great,
The bad, from whom no pity saves,
And far below, a mournful freight,
A tyrant chained his wretched slaves.

Fettered they lay, a hapless row,
Chained hand and foot, a grievous sight:
Their crime—if thou wouldst seek to know—
That doomed them to this weight of woe,
Was only—that they were not white.

Onward she speeds, no fear is there
Of hidden danger that impends,
But hark! that cry of wild despair,
Those fearful sounds that cleave the air,
Half-uttered curses, screams, and prayer,
As 'neath their feet the vessel rends.

Mid planks and beams confusedly thrown
Aloft in air, living and dead,
Torn limb from limb, and bone from bone,
Till every human trace is fled.

The man who sought to make his gain,
By selling human flesh and blood,
Was plunged beneath the watery plain,
As on the distant deck he stood.

Men soon came there, and strove to raise
The victims from their watery tomb!
Oh! with what horror do they gaze
On those who met this awful doom!

In horrid mass, a fearful link
Of human bodies do they find;
Each body as it gains the brink,
Dragging its fellow's corse behind.

Ranged on the strand, a ghastly row,
Forty and one at length appear,
Mute tokens of the scene of woe,
The deed of death, that happened here.

Forty were black, and on each limb
The galling chain of slavery bear.
But one—how came the yoke on him?
What destiny hath brought him there?

Fair was his face, unused to toil,
His auburn locks, luxuriant wave,
How came around his neck the coil,
That bound the tyrant to his slave?

How came it? By the Power so true
By whom all sufferings are redressed;
Stern justice was the force that drew
The oppressor of that hapless crew,
And bound him to the oppressed.

Around his neck, she fixed the chain,
Which he upon their limbs had tied:
He, guilty, joins them in the pain,
Which they in innocence sustain;
They vainly strove the shore to gain,
And then, together died.

No more the tyrant, and the slave;
We see the accusers, and the accused.
How can he ever hope to have
The mercy he to them refused?

And who can blame the sentence just,
That doomed him to this dreadful fate?
When man treads down into the dust
His fellow-men, he will and must
Receive the punishment,—
Though it may tarry late.

If on their neck he fix the chain,
'Twill one day fasten on his own;
And if he scorn the wretches' pain,
One day he surely will complain—
A day when penitence is vain—
He feels the same with bitter groan.

Liverpool.

C. J. L.

THE COOLIES ENSLAVED IN TRINIDAD.

[The following regulations in reference to the Coolies reached us by the last packet.]

1. Application for Coolie labourers from proprietors and agents of estates, to be made to the agent-general of immigrants, specifying the number required, and conveying an assurance that all the rules passed or to be passed in reference to them by the Government, while under limitation of service, or until they become amalgamated, through permanent settlement in the island, with the rest of its labouring population, will be strictly conformed to.

2. The Coolies are to be provided, at the sole cost of the planters, with a dwelling house of wood, strongly floored, well ventilated with doors and windows, and in every respect so constructed as to afford them in the worst weather a dry and comfortable shelter. Separate huts, so that every man may have a house to himself, it is recommended, should for the future be constructed for these people, instead of large

open barracks as at present; to each of which should be annexed an enclosure of land, sufficient for a garden and the rearing of domestic animals, such as pigs, goats, and poultry, which they should be encouraged to undertake, the first supply being gratuitously given them by their employers.

3. In order to secure to the cocoa planters and smaller sugar proprietors an equal share in the general benefit to be derived from the labour of the Coolie immigrants, they (the Coolies) will be divided into gangs of 50 and 25. The appointment of sirdars, or Coolie overseers, being in the opinion of his Excellency the Governor of rather questionable expediency, is left discretionary with resident proprietors and managers, as the best judges how far it may be useful or otherwise.

4. The wages, food, and clothing, to be given to the Coolie immigrants, during the first year of engagement with their employers, are to be regulated by the following monthly table:—

"To each sirdar, 7 rupees or 3 dollars 35 cents; to each male Coolie 5 rupees or 2 dollars 40 cents; to each female Coolie, 3 rupees or 1 dollar 45 cents; to each boy under twelve years, 3 rupees 1 dollar 45 cents.

Food.—Rice, per day 1½ lb., or 45 lbs. per month; dholl or peas, 8 lbs., ditto; ghee or oil, ½ gallon ditto; salt 1½ lb., ditto; salt fish, 4½ lbs., ditto; musalabs, turmeric or tamarinds, 4½ lbs. ditto; musalabs, onions, and chilies, 1 lb., ditto. One small tin or iron pot to each Coolie.

N. B.—The above rations being ample, indeed, more than one Coolie can consume, are to be those issued to every Coolie throughout the colony, without any deviation whatsoever therefrom; whatever else (tobacco for instance) the Coolie may wish for, must be purchased by himself. Much importance is attached to the strict and uniform observance of this recommendatory rule.

CLOTHING.—To each male Coolie and labouring boy are to be given during the first year of service—two good blankets, as protection from rain and cold; two pairs of strong trousers; one woollen cap; one durable jacket. To each Coolie woman, two blankets; one chudder or sheet of six yards, to serve as wrapper; one head dress or female's turban; and one good petticoat. All children too young to labour must be provided with clothing and food by their respective parents.

5. His Excellency Lord Harris having reason to think that Coolies are frequently met on the public roads, and in the neighbourhood of estates, in almost a state of nudity, notwithstanding the ample covering provided for them under the foregoing rule, managers of estates, as well as all police authorities, are earnestly enjoined to exert themselves for the abatement of a practice as offensive to decency as it is disgusting in a civilized community, and demoralising in example to the other labouring classes of the island. Here, where the Coolie's money savings may be said to be a clear gain to him, his food and clothing being supplied to him from the manager's store, no excuse for such inadequate covering of his person can be allowed; and it will accordingly be the duty of the superintending magistrate, whenever he visits estates, to inquire into the state of the clothing of Coolies, and to authorize the renewal of such articles as they may appear deficient in, from having either lost or sold them; managers repaying themselves the cost by deductions from the next subsequent pay issued to them, carefully preserving the bills as vouchers of the expenditure.

6. The hours of labour, when the Coolies are not employed at task work, allowing one intermediate hour for breakfast, are fixed as follows:—From 6 a.m. to 4 p.m. during the *entre coupe*, or out-of-crop season, and during the crop time, or whenever any extra labour has to be performed, the Coolies are to work as long as the other labourers on the estate; and as an essential means to insure prompt and punctual attendance at work at the appointed hour on the part of the labourers, the absence of which must be so detrimental to the successful management of a property, it is recommended that all labourers on the estates be summoned at the same time to work, and by sound of bell; and in order to secure the estate against the loss which a wilfully lazy and drawling performance of work on the part of Coolies must occasion, as well as to put an effectual check to what, if persevered in, must be replete with annoyance and vexation to managers, distracting their attention from their immediate duties, it is recommended that a register (to be sworn to if necessary) of all Coolies guilty of such dereliction of engagement, and of all particulars necessary to its clear establishment against them, be kept; so that at the expiry of their contract they may be made to make good the days which the register may clearly show the estate had lost by such wilful failure to fulfil the same. No one requires a stricter surveillance of conduct while at work than the Indian labourer, whose propensity to lie down and smoke while at work, and to seize every available opening for evading it, is proverbial.

7. More efficient arrangements than have at present generally obtained must be made to insure the regular visitation of the Coolies, at least once a week by a qualified medical gentleman, who will be required to keep a register of the Coolies under medical treatment in the subjoined form—copy of such register to be furnished quarterly—viz., on the 1st of April, 1st of July, 1st of October, and 1st of January, through the Coolie magistrate, for the information of his Excellency the Governor; and as it must tend to the greater comfort and surer recovery of the sick, that

they should, during illness, not be disturbed by the noise and bustle of the general barrack, a house sufficiently spacious, and well ventilated by doors and windows, and having a rain-proof roof, to be provided on each estate for exclusive use as a Coolie hospital. Coolies, while on the sick list, to receive no wages, and in regard to diet, and everything else, to be subjected to the regulating orders of the attending medical officer. Coolies falling sick, are never to be permitted to remain in barrack or their huts, but are immediately to be removed to hospital; their wives and children, while ill, to receive every care and attention their case may demand. [Then follows the form of register.]

8. As the practice of engaging contract-expired Coolies, offering themselves for hire, without being able to produce from their late employers certificates of their regular discharge, &c., might be productive of much inconvenience and trouble, and have besides a prejudicial effect on the conduct of the Coolies, superintendents of estates are not to consider themselves at liberty to entertain Indian immigrants presenting themselves for service under such circumstances, nor until they can produce the required documents, or the superintendents have communicated in reference to them with their late employers, by whose statements they will be guided in entertaining them or otherwise. And that this regulation may come at once into operation, printed skeleton certificates in the annexed form are now in course of issue to estates, at the cost, in this first instance, of Government: one, duly signed by the manager, is to be given to each Coolie on his finally leaving the estate, being affixed by gum or other glutinous liquid to one of the inner sides of his pass-book. [Here follows form of certificate.]

9. It is recommended that no manager should allow Coolies to go on leave without furnishing them with a ticket signed by himself, specifying the name, period of leave, and locality to be visited; and to give more effectual operation to this rule, police constables are required to take charge of and send back to their respective estates any Coolies they may find wandering over the country unprovided with the above-mentioned tickets of leave, charging their respective managers with any expense the execution of these orders may occasion, the managers indemnifying themselves on the next ensuing issue of pay.

10. Coolies to be regularly paid throughout the colony at the termination of each month, and never on any account at a later period: and by the managers themselves, and never under any circumstances through the sirdars. This rule to be considered applicable to the issue of rations, clothing, &c.

11. Pay books, distinct from the accounts of all other labourers, to be kept, in which must be specified opposite each man's name, his rate of pay, the allowance of food, clothing, &c. issued to him; and when pay is disbursed at the end of the month, the account must be closed and authenticated by the signature of the manager, and to be produced whenever called for by the stipendiary magistrate or other competent authority. And in order to render the keeping of accounts between Coolies and managers more easy and satisfactory, weekly pass-books are to be supplied to each working Coolie. In this pass-book, at the close of every Saturday's work, the Coolie is to be credited with the number of days of the week past (from Monday to Saturday) for which he gave his labour. In like manner he is to be charged with whatever expenses he may have incurred from advances made to him, or on any other just account: in regard to which he must at the time be fully satisfied by clear explanation. And on his quitting the estate from refusal to renew, or other allowable cause, the pass-book is to be given to him, duly filled up and authenticated, as required by rule 7.

12. Half-yearly reports of the number of Indian and negro women with each Coolie gang, stating number of male and female children, with their ages, to be forwarded on the 1st of July and the 1st of January to the magistrate, for the information of his Excellency the Governor.

13. It having been brought under the cognizance of his Excellency the Governor that the Coolies on several of the estates have begun to indulge in rum drinking—in many instances selling their clothes, and even their rations, to procure for themselves this deleterious liquid,—resident proprietors and managers are earnestly called upon to exert themselves by every means in their power to arrest at once the growth of what must tend to the nullification of every exertion that may be made for the religious and social improvement of these Coolie labourers—a people who have such strong claims on the philanthropy as well as on the sense of self-interest of their employers.

14. One liberal but uniform system of pay and treatment in respect to the Coolie labourers ought to be observed throughout the colony, those on one estate never on any account receiving an advantage above the rest. Such an undertaking amongst the resident proprietors and managers of estates is, it is obvious, indispensable as an effectual guard against the engendering of dissatisfaction on the part of the Coolies, and of those disputes which invariably result from the cessation of what men, from being long in receipt of, regard as rights. In reference to this important subject, and after it has received fuller consideration, resident proprietors and managers will be more definitively communicated with.

By command of his Excellency the Governor,

JAMES FAGAN, C.S.M.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

[Copy of a letter from John G. Whittier to Joseph Sturge, dated Amesbury (M.S.), 28th of 8th month.]

My dear Friend,—Since I last wrote, the Congress has adjourned, and the political elements are comparatively quiet. The elections which have just taken place in Illinois and Indiana indicate a decided anti-slavery progress. In one congressional district in Illinois the vote for liberty was this year, 2,386; last year, 1,337. We have some hope that Maine this fall will follow the example of New Hampshire, and take anti-slavery ground. The election is early next month.

One very cheering event I must notice. Last year an attempt to exclude slavery from the Oregon territory was defeated. This year, just at the close of the session, when the bill establishing a territorial government was before the House, a clause prohibitory of slavery was introduced by a large majority.

On the last day of the session the president sent a message to Congress, asking an appropriation for the purpose of facilitating and promoting an adjustment of the Mexican controversy, and paying an equivalent for such territory as Mexico might cede to us.

The Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations accordingly reported an appropriation of two millions, when a member of Pennsylvania, an ultra-democrat, who had heretofore voted with the slave-holders, offered a proviso that slavery should be excluded from any territory obtained under a treaty with Mexico. The slave-holders rallied, threatened, and implored; but the proviso was carried by a decided majority. The entire North, (with a few exceptions,) Whig and Democrat, voted for it. The bill was sent to the senate just as that body was about to adjourn, and Senator Davis, of Massachusetts, having the floor, spoke up to the moment of adjournment, and thus prevented a vote upon it. This is much to be regretted. But the vote in the House is significant of Liberty's coming triumph. For the first time since the fatal Missouri struggle in 1819-20, the Free States stood shoulder to shoulder for the limitation of slavery. The *Anti-slavery Reporter*, which I presume friend Tappan sends thee, will give thee an idea of what is doing in the religious world in this respect. The project of a paper at Washington is still before the Anti-slavery Society Committee. Did I mention to thee in my last that at the late North-western Liberty Convention a committee was appointed to make arrangements for a meeting at Washington? There may be danger in the attempt; but I am inclined to think it should be made, and that, too, without delay.

I have now with me in Essex County, a young fugitive slave, Milton Clark, of Kentucky. He is intelligent and a good speaker, and is doing good. I was greatly disappointed on the sugar question in Parliament. I fear the consequence will be an increase of the traffic in human beings.

As ever, affectionately thy Friend and Fellow-labourer,

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

(To the Editor of the Times.)

Sir,—The object of the African slave-trade has long, and very deservedly, engaged the warmest sympathy of British philanthropists, and the exposition of its actual condition recently given in your universally read columns must greatly add to the interest felt by every humane and reflecting mind. Having served above six years on the coast, and devoted considerable attention to the subject of the slave-trade there, I have long been convinced that our benevolently intended measures have not merely utterly failed to accomplish their object, but, on the contrary, incalculably aggravated the horrors of the trade, if being unwillingly instrumental in the destruction of life can be regarded as calamitous. But it is so; and the horrid murders, and fearful mortality from disease, suffered by a numerous, poor, and an innocent race, would not have occurred if we had not interposed in their behalf. This is, indeed, a very sad result, and cannot be too generally known. Those acquainted with the vast extent and nature of the coast and its numerous rivers well know that the entire armed force of England could not prevent the slave-trade, and that the effect of such a force would only be to increase even its present atrocities. If Brazil could be induced to declare this most inhuman traffic piracy, it could readily be checked; but she will not, and any treaty with her not recognising this condition is totally illusory. If England, therefore, has any sincere and earnest desire to benefit Africa, and to avoid being directly accessory to her wrongs, an aider and abettor of murder, let her withdraw her armed force—let her cease to aggravate what she cannot prevent—let her hasten to make some reparation for the miseries she has so long unintentionally inflicted. I dwell not on the great expense to the country, and the mortality among British seamen; the former is admitted,

and the latter lamented; but being believed to be in the cause of humanity, they are regarded as sacrifices on the altar of philanthropy. But were the startling truth better known, that England's active benevolence is one of the sharpest thorns in the side of Africa—that she is, *de facto*, daily, hourly, perpetrating murder—what would be the feeling? Surely one of intense sorrow, mitigated only by the reflection that her intentions were good.

I trust, sir, that you will find room in your columns for this letter, and that you will not lose sight of its vitally important subject, but urge it on the public attention with your usual zeal in everything that involves the best interests and happiness of mankind.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

August 31.

M.

Home Intelligence.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

MEETINGS OF THE CONFERENCE—Concluded.

MONDAY, AUGUST 31.

SIR CULLING EARDLEY SMITH took the chair, and, the minutes of the previous sitting having been confirmed, the Rev. Dr. MASSIE moved, and A. G. ELLIS, Esq., seconded, "That the members of the Aggregate Provisional Committees of the Four English Divisions now in town, meet at the close of this Session," which was carried.

The following is a description of the scene which the hall now presented:—

"Freemasons'-hall, Monday, 10 o'clock.

"The Conference has just assembled, and the American delegates, who have been breakfasting at Spring-gardens with Sir Culling E. Smith, have made their appearance. Care rests upon every countenance. Depressed looks and anxious faces are seen on every hand. It is quite evident that the settlement of Saturday night was not the decision of calm and cool reflection, so much as a hasty compliance, for union's sake, under intense excitement, with that which involved compromise and concession. Sir Culling is pale and restless, the Secretaries grave and full of foreboding; while the leaders of the three sections are all earnest in conversation upon the evident course affairs must take during the sitting. Nothing could be more unfortunate than the present position of affairs. It is thought that the Alliance must be broken up; and the protest shows the strong feelings of the main body of foreign delegates.

"These all deplore the introduction of the question of slavery at all; and, though the resolution was adopted almost unanimously, it is now the determination of the Americans to re-open the subject. This attempt, it is believed, Sir Culling will strenuously resist; but there is little doubt the question will be re-committed for a second report. The British delegates, under the influence very much of the Church party, are resolved to stand by their tests, and not to yield to that of slavery. The Americans say most positively, that, though they voted in favour of it on Saturday, they must oppose it with all their force to-day; for there can be no American branch which shall exclude the slave-holder; while the continental delegates are equally alarmed, feeling that not only the Eighth and Ninth Articles will obstruct their progress, but that the slavery test will not be more palatable in France than on the other side of the Atlantic. It is understood, that the protest signed on Saturday will not be presented officially. It is, however, but just to say, that this document was not signed by several who voted for the resolution respecting slavery.

"Dr. Cox, who spoke for the Americans, remarked, that with one exception (Mr. Himes) they were all agreed; they thought, upon mature reflection, that the question of slavery must be left in abeyance. The question might be asked, Does not this break up the general organization? He thought not; their doctrinal basis was decided; their objects were fixed. The test of membership must be left open, and, in the meantime, local organizations must be carried out at the discretion of their respective supporters, and in accordance with circumstances. If the American branch should admit the slave-holder, and the British branch will not, when they next meet, they must determine to go on separately. It must be an open question; if not, far better let them at once dissolve."

The Rev. Dr. BUNTING moved, the Rev. Dr. SCHMUCKER seconded, and the Rev. J. H. HINTON supported, "That the resolution brought up by the Special Committee, and adopted by the Conference at the previous sitting, be placed among the miscellaneous resolutions, and not under the head of 'General Organization,'" whereupon, the Honourable Justice CRAMPTON moved, and THOMAS FARMER, Esq., seconded, "That the concluding clause of the resolution—viz., 'And in respect especially to the system of slavery, and every other form of oppression in any country, the Alliance are unanimous in deploring them, as in many ways obstructing the progress of the gospel; and express their confidence, that no branch will admit to membership slave-holders, who, by their own fault, continue in that position, retaining their fellow-men in slavery, from regard to their own interests,' be rescinded."

The amendment, by consent of the Conference, was, *pro tempore*, withdrawn.

The Hon. and Rev. B. W. NOEL then moved, and the Rev. Dr. BEECHER seconded, "That the whole matter involved in the motion, with the amendment proposed by Mr. Justice Crampton, be referred to the consideration of a Committee, and that the Committee consist of Hon. Justice Crampton, Thomas Farmer, Esq., Rev. Dr. Beecher, Rev. Dr. Cox (New York), Rev. Dr. Patton, Rev. Dr. Schmucker, Rev. Dr. Olin, Rev. Dr. Erskine Mason, Rev. S. L. Pomroy, Rev. E. N. Kirk, S. E. Morse, Esq., Rev. Dr. De Witt, Rev. Dr. Skinner, Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel, Rev. J. H. Hinton, Rev. Thos. Scales, Rev. Ad. Monod, Rev. Thomas Hinney, Rev. Dr. F. A. Cox, Rev. Dr. Morison, Rev. Abercrombie Gordon, Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, John Henderson, Esq., Rev. Dr. Urwick, R. T. Haynes, Esq., Rev. Mr. Brainerd, Rev. Dr. Baird, Professor Elton, Charles Baker, Esq., J. B. Bacon, Esq., Rev. Dr. Peck, Rev. J. V. Himes, Sir C. E. Smith, Rev. Dr. Bunting, Rev.

Edw. Bickersteth, Rev. Dr. Alder, Rev. W. M. Bunting, John Hamilton, Esq., Rev. A. S. Thelwall, Rev. Dr. Massie, Rev. G. Osborn, Rev. Robert Eckett, Rev. Dr. Tholuck, Rev. Jabez Burns, J. S. Blackwood, Esq., L.L.D., Rev. Dr. Hoby."

This proposition having been carried, the Rev. Dr. SKINNER pronounced the benediction, and the Conference adjourned to Tuesday.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2.

The Rev. Dr. S. H. COX presided over the devotional exercises, in which the Rev. C. M. WIMBERLEY and the Rev. Dr. URWICK took part. In the absence of Sir Culling Eardley Smith, THOMAS FARMER, Esq., took the chair.

The following documents were laid on the table of the Conference:—

PROTEST AGAINST THE RESOLUTION RESPECTING SLAVERY.—No. I.

With all due deference to the wisdom of this Conference, and with the most earnest and prayerful solicitude for the great object which its members are endeavouring to promote, I am constrained, by a clear and deep conviction of my duty to God and to my fellow-men, to record my dissent from the resolution adopted at the close of the session on Saturday evening last, respecting slave-holders.

I respectfully enter my protest against that resolution—

1. Because it was adopted amidst great excitement, when several members of the Conference were unable to make such inquiries concerning its practical bearings as they felt necessary to make before voting for its affirmation.

2. Because it excludes "personal holiness" from the rules of admission to the Evangelical Alliance; and decides the right of membership by matters of opinion.

3. Because it institutes a court of inquiry regarding matters of personal property; and legislates for peculiar circumstances, and private interests, to the detriment of the general welfare of the church of Christ.

4. Because it fails to secure that unanimity for which it was proposed, and virtually breaks up the Alliance, as several of the members most interested in it protested against it, and refused to be bound by its provisions.

5. Because, taken in connection with other propositions already adopted by this Conference, it constitutes the Evangelical Alliance so as practically to exclude conscientious and godly men, who have been living martyrs to the cause of freedom, and actually to admit slave-holders, who may choose to affirm that their sin in holding their fellow-men in bondage is not their own fault, or for their own advantage.

For these reasons I am constrained to record my dissent from the resolution above-named, and to beg that this, my solemn protest, may be entered upon the minutes of this Conference.

ALEXANDER KING, Independent Minister.

Freemasons'-hall, Monday, August 31, 1846.

PROTEST AGAINST THE RESOLUTION RESPECTING SLAVERY.—No. II.

TO THE CONFERENCE NOW SITTING IN FREEMASONS-HALL.

The undersigned request that their names may be entered upon the minutes of the Conference, as dissenting from the minute upon the subject of slavery, adopted by the Conference on Saturday evening last.

THOMAS SMYTH.	SIDNEY E. MORSE.
ERSKINE MASON.	EBEN. MASON.
EDW. P. HUMPHREY	ROBERT CARTER
R. T. HAINES	M. B. HOPE
THOS. DEWITT	GORHAM D. ABBOTT
JOHN B. ADGER	ROBT. EMORY.

August 31, 1846.

III. EXPLANATORY STATEMENT.

We, the undersigned members of the Evangelical Alliance, from America, beg leave to present to the Conference the following explanatory statement:—

The Conference of Christian brethren from all parts of the world, which has just formed the Evangelical Alliance in this city, was convened on the invitation of the committee of a smaller Conference, which held its first meeting in Liverpool in October last. The document of invitation sent out by the Liverpool Committee, contained the doctrinal basis which has since been adopted, with some variations, as the foundation of the new Alliance; but there was no allusion in this document to the subject of slavery. On our arrival in London to aid in forming the Alliance, most of us signed the following paper:—

"Heartily desirous of promoting the great object contemplated by the proposed Evangelical Alliance, and approving of the doctrinal basis and principles contained in the accompanying document, I consent that my name be enrolled as a corresponding member."

The "document" referred to in this paper was the document to which we have already alluded, and made no mention of slavery. At the same time, the attention of most of us was directed to a separate paper, of which the following is a copy:—

"PROPOSED EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

"PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE.

"Extracts of the Minutes of the London division,
July 7 and July 21, 1846.

"Resolved, that American brethren, on their election as foreign corresponding members, be enrolled as such, on their signature being attached to the form already adopted for English members, at the same time directing their special attention to the resolution on slavery, adopted at the aggregate meeting at Birmingham, with reference to their individual concern in the same.

"Resolved, that the minute with respect to slave-holding, adopted at the Birmingham aggregate meeting, be put before brethren who may come to the August Conference, from all countries whose Governments tolerate the practice in question among their subjects."

"Resolution adopted at the meeting of the aggregate committee at Birmingham, March 31, 1846, and following days:—

"That while this committee deem it unnecessary and inexpedient to enter into any question at present on the subject of slave-holding, or on the difficult circumstances in which Christian brethren may be placed in

countries where the law of slavery prevails, they are of opinion that *invitations ought not to be sent to individuals, who, WHETHER BY THEIR OWN FAULT, OR OTHERWISE, may be in the unhappy position of holding their fellow-men as slaves.*

"ALEX. DIGBY CAMPBELL, } Official Secretaries."
"EDWARD STEANE, }

We understand that some of our British brethren are under the impression that we have subscribed an approval of these resolutions. *This is a mistake.* The document we approved and subscribed, was the document containing the doctrinal basis. These resolutions were on a separate paper, to which the attention of most of us was directed; but we were not required to subscribe them or approve them. We could not approve them. *Most of us made our verbal protest against them.* We regarded them as *highly objectionable*, and particularly for the following reasons:—

1. They were *irrelevant** to the matter in hand. They had nothing to do with the proper object of the Alliance. The Alliance is a union, for purposes exclusively religious, of evangelical Christians who agree in the great doctrines of the gospel. Slavery is a creature of the law; and, although it draws great moral evils in its train, and we are all heartily opposed to it, and ready, *in any proper way*, to promote its removal, we do not think that the subject comes within the province of this Alliance.

2. The resolutions came *too late*.* The original card of invitation, with no allusion in it to slavery, was widely circulated and extensively acted on by ecclesiastical bodies in America, soon after it was issued; and many who had accepted it had crossed the Atlantic before they met with the Birmingham resolution. As this resolution, if adopted by the Alliance, would change its whole character, and exclude not only Christian slave-holders, but the great body of evangelical Christians in the non-slave-holding States of America, who are in Christian communion with them, it should have been adopted, if adopted at all, before the invitation was sent. It was too late to do it afterwards.

3. The first of the London resolutions is *offensive to us, as Americans*.*—Why the wholly needless specification of "American brethren," in connection with slavery? Why was it not said at once, "Brethren from all the countries whose Governments tolerate slavery?" Why the prominence given to America in this matter? If we did not know that our British brethren are incapable of intending to offend us—if we had not received explanations which convince us that the London committee, when they passed their second resolution, intended to correct that which would be deemed objectionable by Americans in the first, and that it was only through inadvertence that the first resolution was allowed to remain in its present shape, we should feel constrained to express our regret in strong language. As it is, we have only to rejoice that the matter admits of such explanation.

4. The Birmingham resolution is calculated to *wound the feelings of unoffending Christian brethren in the slave-holding states, and to retard the abolition of slavery*.*

If Christian brethren placed (in the terms of the resolution) "by no fault of their own," in an "unhappy position," involving strong temptations and severe trials, nevertheless conduct themselves worthily, they merit on that account, in our view, the sympathy of their fellow-Christians, and, especially of those who are sincerely seeking the removal of the great evil from which their temptations and trials arise. This is not the time to inquire whether the American churches have, or have not, all done their duty in regard to this subject; but there seems to us to be a singular impropriety in singling out such brethren for the stigma of exclusion from Christian fellowship. In their "difficult circumstances," they need the encouragement and support of the counsels and prayers of their fellow-Christians, and, if slavery is ever to be abolished in the Southern States of America, we need such men to take the lead in the movement. There is in these circumstances, in our view, weighty reasons, not for non-intercourse, but for closer Christian union. It is well known to us, that many Christian slave-holders are, in their principles and feelings, entirely opposed to slavery, and are prepared to make *all the efforts and sacrifices in their power* for the removal of the evil, as soon as practicable. But it ought to be known to our European brethren, that slavery cannot at once be abolished in any state of the American Union, except by the legislature of that state; that the citizens of non-slave-holding states can only act on the subject by moral influence, and that this influence is to be exerted chiefly on and through Christians in the slave-holding community. It is because we have great confidence in the piety and intelligence, and in the constantly increasing number of godly men in the slave-holding states, that we look with increasing hope to the entire removal of American slavery. We deeply sympathise with these brethren under the heavy responsibilities they are called to bear. Our duty, no less than our Christian affection, *impels us to maintain intimate relations with them*, and we could not, without a grievous offence against the best hopes of religion and humanity in the South, as well as against our own consciences, *consent to any action which would imply a want of Christian confidence in them, or which might endanger our amicable and fraternal relations with this portion of the American Church.*

JOHN B. ADGER.	THOS. H. SKINNER.
H. N. BRINSMADE.	STEPHEN OLIN.
EDW. P. HUMPHREY.	ERSKINE MASON.
T. SPICER.	ROBT. EMORY.
THOMAS SMYTH.†	R. T. HAINES.
EBEN. MASON.	S. S. SCHMUCKER.
A. T. HOPKINS.	GORHAM D. ABBOTT.
MERRITT CALDWELL.	J. B. MERWIN.
ROBT. CARTER.	ABRAHAM POLLUMUS.
EDW. N. KIRK.	A. B. VAN ZANDT.
THOMAS DE WITT.	CHARLES BUTLER.
SIDNEY E. MORSE.	OSCAR H. GREGORY.
GEO. PECK.	R. D. MUSSEY.
WM. PATTON.	B. KURTZ.
R. BAIRD.	M. B. HOPE.
THOS. BRAINERD.	WM. LIVESEY.

London, August 28th, 1846.

* These italics are those of the protesting parties.—Ed. Patriot.

† This gentleman is understood to be himself a slave-holder, or, at least, to have slaves in his house, of whose services he avails himself, but whom he represents to be not his, but his father-in-law's.

[The subjoined is taken from the *Patriot*, and was addressed to the Editor.]

Sir,—I avail myself of your columns to warn the Christians of this country against a Rev. M. M. Clarke, from the United States, who may be expected in our provincial towns, as an advocate of the Evangelical Alliance. A meeting of that Alliance was held here yesterday, at which Mr. Clarke was present. His speech was a formal defence of American Slavery, which, according to this person's account, is by no means a thing of cruelty and crime. So far from it, he assumed, that, whilst the masters could not do away with it if they would, the slaves themselves are well content that it should remain. It was grievous indeed to see our old hall, which was wont formerly to throb and shudder at the remembrance of slavery in our colonies, apparently acquiescent with the advocacy of slavery in America. At length, indeed, dissatisfaction was heard, not from the platform, but from the people. Symptoms were becoming obvious, that the anti-slavery sentiment would not, after all, be trifled with; when the chairman, Sir E. N. Buxton, interfered, and, after some poor attempt at apology, Mr. Clarke sat down.

I rose immediately, and requested permission to ask Mr. Clarke certain questions touching the subject of his speech. The permission was peremptorily refused me, on the ground that a resolution had been formed by the managers of the meeting beforehand, that no questions should be permitted, and no discussion allowed.

What will your readers think of that? A man is allowed to assure a British audience that the slave-holders, and the slave-dealers, and the slave-breeders of America, are worthy of pity, rather than of blame; and then a man, who, knowing all this to be false, would set the audience right, is told that he must hold his peace. But so it has been in Norwich, at a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance! And so it will be in other places wherever the Alliance may hold its meetings, unless the Christian public will determine not to be trodden underfoot by the Evangelical advocates of American slavery.

Mr. Clarke again and again declared that he had pledged himself to his countrymen to go everywhere in this country, and justify all which has been done, and all which has been left undone, by the Alliance on the subject. He reiterated, with most offensive repetition, that he had given such a pledge to his colleagues, especially to Dr. Cox of New York, and that, come what may come, he will redeem his pledge. Let our churches awake, and array themselves against this man, and his pledge, and his colleagues too. There is evidently a conspiracy on the part of these Americans to put down, through the medium of the Evangelical Alliance, the opposition to their slave-system which prevails in this land. Mr. Clarke is remaining in England, to re-enact the same shameful part which he dared to enact here yesterday. I do trust, however, that the Christian people of this country will resent the man's audacity; and that, forewarned of his intentions, they will do their best to prevent their being carried out.

Under all the circumstances of the Evangelical Alliance, it would be quite as well if, by its officers, Mr. Clarke were formally disowned. The presumption, already, is a very strong one, that American slavery may claim the Alliance as its friend. A little more, and the presumption will become positive proof.

I am, yours sincerely,

WILLIAM BROCK.

Norwich, Sept. 26, 1846.

ANTI-SLAVERY LEAGUE.

On Monday evening last, a meeting of the Anti-Slavery League was held in Exeter Hall. The principal object of the meeting was to review the proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance Conference in regard to American slavery. On the platform were Rev. Dr. Campbell, Dr. Oxley, Rev. Messrs. Burnet, Preston, and many other ministers; also, Dr. Price, Messrs. Thompson, Douglass, Garrison, Pilkington, Dailey, and a number of the Society of Friends.

The Rev. JOHN BURNET was called to the chair.

On rising, the rev. gentleman was loudly cheered. He said—Ladies and Gentlemen, the position I now occupy is an unusual position to me. I am usually on the right or on the left of the chair, instead of being in it. The occasion on which we are met is one of great importance to the church and to the world. We have recently had another great meeting in this hall, for union. But to some of us it appeared that a good opportunity was furnished, in the Evangelical Alliance, to consider to show brotherly kindness to a race of men who had been treated as beasts. (Cheers.) The subject of slavery was introduced into the Alliance, and a resolution was passed in reference to slavery and slave-holders, that all might be treated as brethren, though they held slaves, if it were not through their own fault. Now, it does not appear to me that a slave-holder, in punishing his slave, does it against his will. It is surely not right for us to punish another against our will. This is an absurdity, as it appears to me; and so it would appear to have been regarded in the Alliance, for the resolution was rescinded. It might appear then to America, that the question of slavery was to be kept in abeyance. Now, if the American brethren go home, and say the question is to be kept in abeyance, they will not say the truth. The judgment of the Alliance is not the judgment of the people of England. (Cheers.) However worthy these brethren may be, they cannot be trusted in all they say, if they say this is the decision of England. But it is not the decision of America itself. Mr. Garrison is here from America, and Frederick Douglass, who was once a slave, and there is a force in America on their side. It is only

right to say that the most distinguished leaders of the Alliance have been invited by circular to attend this meeting, to hear what might be said.

Mr. Thompson and Mr. Douglass here entered the hall, and were received with loud cheers.

Mr. LLOYD GARRISON was here called upon, who, on rising, was loudly cheered. He said—If ever I desired strength to meet a great and solemn emergency, it is now. I remember I am here, the representative of 3,000,000 of men in the galling chains of slavery. Would you could see them here, and see slavery, in deed and in truth, what it is! The subject is important. We are not met for a sectarian purpose; we are not met to indulge in expressions of anger that we were shut out from the Alliance; we are here to look at this Alliance in relation to a system of iniquity unparalleled in the history of the world. Let us concede, for the sake of argument, that the Alliance is the best religious body that could be convened in the world. And let us judge of it, by its own professions, whether it be worthy of our confidence, or whether it be not worthy the execration of the world. If the Alliance had been for a specific purpose, we could not justly complain. But the Alliance does not propose a single object. It claims to cover the whole ground of Christianity, and proposes to remove every evil from the world. The Alliance is a proscriptive body, undertaking to exclude those who do not think with them. The Alliance undertake to prove that those who think with them are Christians, and, consequently, those who do not think with them are not Christians. Now, here we have this body declaring they are not composed of all Christians in the world. Then they say they go together for the union of all Christians in the world, and then, with great inconsistency, they exclude them. Again, they say their design was to attain the union of all Christians. Now, I want to know if they were united. That body assumed that they were a body of Christians united to Jesus Christ. We are to see whether they were so. [He then reprobated the Alliance for including baptism, the Lord's supper, &c., in their list of doctrines, by which the whole Society of Friends were excluded, as they did not believe those dogmas.] I am not sure that the Lord Jesus was altogether pleased with them, for they were not intending to give up their different names. I ask, how does the Evangelical Alliance claim to be regarded by the world? They have set up a most exalted standard. They claim to be regarded as an eminently Christian body. By their own standard let them be judged. Now, if it should be found that this body of eminently pious men passed by a system of pollution, theft, blood, cruelty, atheism, and that they were silent on the subject, it would then be seen that they have assumed what does not belong to them. The Alliance has undertaken a mission which God never gave it to do; that it is, indeed, eminently anti-Christian. They claim to have met under the influences of the Holy Ghost. If so, they would have manifested it by their deeds. I wonder if the Society of Friends, the Plymouth Brethren, the Unitarians, are Christian denominations?

A voice on the platform—No.

Mr. GARRISON said—Though he had named various denominations, he had not endorsed their Christianity. He complained of gentlemen crying "No," when he was merely stating facts. The Alliance claimed to be inspired by the Spirit of God, and yet passed by 3,000,000 of suffering, trampled-down slaves of America. Thus it is that they have given a more fatal blow to the anti-slavery cause, than as if they had been an irreligious body. This brings us to remark on the conduct of the Alliance in reference to American slavery. I ask, what has been the cause of all these divisions in the church? Not testifying against unrighteousness, but in regard to times and seasons and ordinances; all these have divided them. I looked with deep interest to the Alliance to see whether they would regard these as things to be put aside. They have not put them aside. And I will show that this Alliance has been false in its pretensions. These men resolved together about union, and then went away and resolved to be just as much Churchmen, and Baptists, and Methodists, &c., as they were before, and thus the world was imposed upon. Why did they not put away these names? [Here the speaker was much interrupted by hisses and applause. Several cried out "Be quick," and others "Go on! Question, question," from many voices.] I am coming to the question (continued Mr. Garrison). He then read extracts from the speeches of Dr. Emory, and J. C. Abbott, of America, respecting the peculiar state of society in that republic. He asked were these things so, because Christians were attempting to crush the anti-slavery movement? Yes. Was it because men in their churches were slave-buyers? Yes. So long as they could be convicted of these crimes, they were fighting against God. He read an extract from a speech respecting the Alliance making Popery quake in the Vatican. He wondered if the Pope cared about their Alliance. (Cheers.) He remarked that, however they denounced Popery, the late Pope had, three years ago, sent a bull to the faithful throughout the world, urging them at once to wash their hands of traffic in the blood and souls of men. "I go," said Mr. Garrison, "for that Popery which goes against the chains of slavery, and against that Protestantism which puts them on." (Loud cheers.) He complimented Mr. Hinton, on having introduced a motion for the exclusion of slave-holders, but it did not pass. One would have thought they would soon have resolved the subject. But they appointed a large committee to consider the subject. The committee met. Solemn prayer was offered, that they might have divine direction. Several persons engaged in prayer, and implored the direction of God. Then, after so much prayer, a number more persons were added to the committee. Now, he denounced all this praying as solemn mockery before God. (Cheers and hisses, with cries of "No, no," and "Shame, shame," continued some time, during which several gentlemen on the platform and in the hall rose and walked out amidst great hissing. Mr. Garrison continued.) In his opinion, if they had done their duty and had remembered those in bonds, as bound with them, they would have no need of asking God what they should do. Why all this delay, if they were not attempting to wrap up the question? The American delegates ought to have been more decided than any other men, for they held the doctrine that all men were equal; and yet they pretended they had no light from Heaven, and to seek divine direction. He denounced this language as downright blasphemy. He then commented at length on the Alliance classing slavery with duelling, Sabbath breaking, &c. He protested against including Sabbath breaking, as it was called, in the list of crimes furnished. He then read the opinion of Luther and others to the effect that the Sabbath is not any more than a Jewish institution, and not intended for Christian observance. It was wicked in

the Alliance to class men who did not keep the Sabbath holy with drunkards, &c. (Mr. Garrison here read the resolution relating to slavery.) After a great many prayers were put up, it was resolved that this article relating to slavery should be taken out of the Basis and put among incidentals. So thoroughly pro-slavery were the American delegates, that nothing would serve them but to leave slavery untouched. They have attempted to corrupt the moral sense of the people of England. I stand here to unmask them. I denounce them as wolves in sheep's clothing. They have endeavoured to show the claims of the Alliance on the people of God throughout the world. But, judged by its own standard, the body was unworthy the public confidence. He had brought up evidence which proved it to be an un-Christian body. The fault is not mine, but theirs who made it so. I am a believer in Christianity, as taught by Jesus Christ. In the true church of Christ, there never was a slave-holder. I denounce these men who are perverting the Bible, so that the slave system may be sanctioned and upheld. Slave-holding is, under all circumstances, a sin. What is man-stealing under all circumstances, but man-stealing? Man-stealing is a crime well defined. (Cheers.) If a man tells me he finds sanction for slavery in the Bible, if you could find slavery upheld in his Bible, I would put it in the fire. (Cheers.) Slave-holding is not setting a man free, but holding him in bonds. Let him beware how he makes the Bible sanction his crime. If your God allows men to be made beasts of, then your God is my devil. I did hope that the English delegates would go on, and never recognise a slave-holder as a Christian. I say he is not a Christian. If there be an American here, let him prove it if he can. Let him speak, and prove if he can, that I have spoken anything against the truth, or against God.

The Rev. JOHN PRESTON, Baptist Minister, Euston-square, here rose and said, he was a member of the Alliance, had sat in nineteen sessions and therefore understood it. He had doubted, and more than doubted, during some parts of Mr. Garrison's address, whether he were a friend of Christianity. When he came to that meeting he did expect to hear strong things uttered against the Alliance; but he did not expect to hear Christianity in general undermined, and prayer to God ridiculed. (Loud cheering, hissing, and great confusion. The Chairman had some difficulty in restoring order. Mr. Preston continued.) It was not true that the members of the Alliance said they were inspired by the Holy Ghost. It was not true that they had sanctioned slave-holders as members of the Alliance. Slave-holders could not be admitted into it. They had divided the Alliance into districts, and before a slave-holder could be admitted, the act must be sanctioned by all the districts. And if, when the Alliance next meets, in three years or in seven years, it should be found there was a slave-holder in it, he would be cast out. While at their devotions in the Alliance, the slave was not forgotten; for he suggested to the chairman that prayer should be offered for 3,000,000 of our brethren who were in slavery in America, and prayer was offered for them. (Cheers, and more confusion, during which the rev. gentleman retired.)

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., was next called upon, who, on presenting himself, was received with loud cheering, which continued some time. Mr. Thompson said, this great body of Christians had been together many days aiming at union, but they had passed by the cause of bleeding humanity. (Loud cheers.) He took on himself the full share of the responsibility of calling that meeting, for he believed it was his duty. What was the fact? Why, that the connection of this country with the United States was corrupting the anti-slavery sentiment of England. Fifteen years ago he was sent out as one of the agents of the Anti-Slavery Society to America, and the doctrine he was commissioned to preach was, that slave-holding, under all circumstances, is a crime. It is a startling fact, that no deputation had ever gone to the American Churches but what had compromised their principles on this question. A deputation had gone from the Church of Scotland—the Free Church of Scotland—the Anti-Erastian Free Church of Scotland, but they also had compromised their principles. Mr. Thompson here referred at length to the conduct of this deputation while in America. He said Dr. Cunningham in 1838, held that slave-holding was, under all circumstances, a sin. But what was the conduct of the late deputation? Why, they went to the south—to the slave-holding states—and they kept on terms of brotherhood with slave-holders. They sat at their tables, they occupied their pulpits, they sat down with them at the communion table. They went over the land from the Potomac to the Sabine, and from the shores washed by the Atlantic, to those which repose on the side of the Rocky Mountains, and they never lifted up their voice there against American slavery. Nay, they took the slave-holders' money on the express condition that they were to keep silence in America on that question. Because they published the inconsistencies of these Christians, they were slandered and stigmatized. All the Free Church periodicals vindicated the Christianity of the slave-holder. The *Edinburgh Witness*, the *Guardian*, the *Dundee Warbler*, the *Free Church Magazine*—all were compromised on this question. They assailed them (the Abolitionists) as the enemies of Christianity. But who was undermining Christianity? Those who sought to uphold such a system of iniquity by the Bible. He need not go to the Bible to know that slave-holding was a crime. There was that in every man's nature which cried out, "Let slavery be accursed!" (Cheers.) Let every man ask himself if he would like to be a slave. Would they want divine illumination then? Would the slaves want divine illumination to know whether they ought to be free? He would say then, to all these gentlemen, and to the Free Church of Scotland, Accept no more bribes from slavery; take no more of their money, and pollute not the ark of your God. (Immense applause.) The Anti-Slavery League occupied no new ground. It was the Coxes, and Pattens, and Emorys, and Cunninghams, who had taken new ground. At the late meetings of the Alliance, when Mr. Hinton moved that slave-holders should not be eligible as members, there was at once division and discord in the body. He then complained of the Alliance failing to consider, as it ought to have considered, the condition of their brethren the slaves. They refused to adopt Mr. Hinton's amendment for the exclusion of slave-holders. The Alliance had first failed in its duty in not passing that resolution; they had thus compromised the anti-slavery principle. (Hear.) If the British members, as had been alleged, were firm and consistent, were was their consistency then? There was an overwhelming majority against the Americans; and yet the latter appeared to have led them by the nose like asses. (Laughter.) By their ultimate resolution they recognised the possibility of men being slave-holders not of their own fault. Whose fault was it then? (Hear,

hear.) They imputed it, like the Church of Scotland, to the providence of God. In the General Assembly of the Free Church, in May last, Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Candlish had both declared that the American slave-holders had been brought into their unfortunate position by the providence of God; and this sentiment had been loudly cheered by the assembly. (Hear.) Talk of men being slave-holders not of their own fault, or not for their own interest!—where was there such a man? Would any one in Exeter Hall sanction the doctrine that God had put any man in a position which necessitated him to be a slave-holder? (Hear.) The Alliance had established a precedent which did not exist before; they had legislated for an ideal exception; and by that very act they had compromised the abolition question. They had preferred union with the Americans to compassion for the slaves; and their hearts must have smote them while they were making that compromise. Already was that compromise condemned by the public. The American and Scotch delegates had prevailed by numbers and by subtlety; and it was a shame to the British delegates to have made that compromise. (Cheers.) The slavery question had been discussed in the Alliance more than any other; and yet not a syllable in reference to it was recorded in their proceedings. By this course the members had destroyed their usefulness in the anti-slavery cause; for if they were now zealous in that question, any one might get up and ask why they had been silent in the Alliance? But, though Christians in England might compromise on this question, there was no compromise in the Southern States; the slave-holding members of Christian churches held out for their undoubted right to chain and sell their fellow-men. The Alliance had been led away chiefly by a member who, in 1835, had taken the ground of the utter unjustifiableness of slave-holding under any circumstances, but who had recently sat in the chair of an assembly of men-stealers. (Hear.) None of these men had dared to appear in public; or he (Mr. Thompson) would have confronted them: and, with any audience in Great Britain, he would have undertaken to obtain an all but unanimous verdict against them. (Hear.) Mr. Thompson then read some extracts from the sentiments held by Dr. Cox on slavery ten years ago; also a specimen of the sermons written by Bishop Mead, to be read by slave-owners to the slaves. In conclusion, he moved resolutions declaratory of the sin of American slavery, repudiating the doctrine that slaves might be held in innocence, and censuring the conduct of the Evangelical Alliance as a virtual abandonment of the cause of the slave. (Cheers.)

After a few remarks, the resolutions were put and carried, with a very few dissentients.

An American gentleman here came forward, and attempted to address the meeting, in reply to Mr. Garrison and Mr. Thompson. He had not uttered many sentences before he was interrupted by hisses, whistling, and shouting. After several ineffectual attempts, aided by the Chairman, to obtain a hearing, the gentleman retired.

After a very effective address from FREDERIC DOUGLASS, a vote of thanks was passed to the Rev. John Burnet, for his conduct in the chair, and the large assembly broke up shortly after ten o'clock.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—Whilst the press of this island, says the *Baptist Herald*, is circulating the grossest falsehoods respecting the unwillingness of our peasantry to labour on the estates; and demanding, on this account, extended immigration and continued protection, it behoves us to show that a variety of things are constantly occurring which tend to drive the labourer from the estates to his provision ground.

It is only a few weeks since we made our readers acquainted with the fact that an overseer in this parish wantonly destroyed the provision ground of a poor man, because his wife was not on the spot the moment she was required, although both she and her husband had been for years faithful labourers upon the property. Since then, a neighbouring overseer has been guilty of a similar piece of wickedness, and, in this time of scarcity, destroyed two acres of young provisions. Where is the poor man's remedy? Were he to seek for justice in a court of law, it would be denied him as it was to Bailey, some legal quibble would send him home nonsuited.

But it is to a different form of oppression that we now wish to call the attention of our readers, and one that is becoming exceedingly common.

A poor man was lately engaged upon an estate in this parish (at some future time we may give its name) to perform some work that came to thirty shillings; he received, in part payment, nine shillings and sixpence, and was told to wait for the rest. In a few weeks the overseer that engaged him was discharged from the property, and another put in his place. The labourer waited upon him for payment, but the reply was, "It was before my time, I know nothing about it;" and though the man holds an acknowledgment of the work performed, signed by the late overseer, he is unable to obtain payment, and the probability is, he never will be paid. We know it may be said the law will compel the estate to pay. Will it? Should the man try the experiment, there will be sure to be some point raised in law that will nonsuit him; for aught he knows, the attorney of the property will be his judge. There was a time when we should, in such a case as this, have sent the man to a magistrate, but experience has taught us that such advice, in nine cases out of ten, would only cause loss of time to the labourer. The case we have mentioned is by no means uncommon; it is of every day occurrence, and few persons would believe the large sums labourers lose when a property changes overseers; whether those losses are gains to the overseer or attorney we

cannot say, but we do not believe the estate is benefited by them. These are some of the things that drive our labourers from the cultivation of sugar cane to their provision grounds, and who can blame them? Our surprise is not that so many leave, but that any will stay. Should Mr. Smith, by the publication of his truthful letters, induce proprietors at home to scrutinise the conduct of their attorneys here, he will find that to them, and not to the labourer, is he indebted for his frequent losses in the cultivation of his estates. Let the peasantry of Jamaica be treated like men, and there will be found labour enough to make a crop of sugar much larger than any that has been made since the abolition of slavery.

EVILS OF ABSENTEEISM.—One great drawback to the prosperity of Jamaica is the deficiency of the number of proprietors residing in the island, and to make up for this, there is not a class of tenants upon the estates, but the cumbrous system of slavery is still the machinery by which the estates cultivation is carried on. This great evil is felt socially, morally, and politically. There are none to give support to educational and benevolent enterprises, very few that feel any interest in local improvements; roads and bridges are neglected; there are no fixed ties to localities, no moral examples of families, and no real patriotism manifested in the political institutions of the country. Legislation for self-interests, instead of the benefit of the whole community.—*Baptist Herald*, July 21.

BRITISH GUIANA.—Accounts have reached us that three murders have been perpetrated in the county of Berbice; but, strange to say, the local *Gazette* makes no mention of them.

On plantation *Providence*, an African, one of those recently imported, coolly shot another man to the heart with whom he had had some quarrel. He got out of the way for a few days after the commission of the crime, into the bush or the cane-piece, but was forced out by hunger and mosquitoes, and is now lodged in jail.

On plantation *Everton*, the next estate, a man was found in his own house barbarously murdered, his throat cut, and his head hacked nearly from his body. A Barbadian, working on the same property, has been apprehended on suspicion.

In one of the cane-fields of plantation *Port Mourant*, the body of a man was found some days ago, the feet and hands tied together, and who had also been murdered by cutting his throat. The body was in a state of decomposition, and could not be recognised; but, from the formation of the head, it is supposed the man must have been a Coolie or Portuguese emigrant. No clue has yet been discovered, to lead to the discovery by whom the crime was committed. More than one person must have been employed in tying the wretched victim.—*G. T.* 17th Aug.

DOMINICA.—On Tuesday morning a French sloop came into port having on board five fugitive slaves from Guadeloupe—three of the vessel's crew, the wife of one of them, and a young girl. It appears that the vessel is a drogher, and had been sent to St. Ann's to take in sugar. After taking off eight hogsheads, one of the crew succeeded in getting his wife and her daughter on board, and, night coming on, the vessel was got under way, when the three men, despite of the master, insisted on bringing her to this island. The girl was manacled and was landed here in that state. An order of two magistrates was immediately issued, and the poor girl, by the aid of a blacksmith, was relieved of her fetters, and the whole were set free. The French schooner of war *Baucis* arrived here yesterday, and, after exchanging salutes with the fort, took possession of the sloop, and both returned to Guadeloupe.—*Colonist*.

ST. VINCENT.—The ship *James Cruikshank*, Captain Sayers, arrived on Friday evening from Madeira, with 144 immigrants under the care of Dr. Donhill; 41 men, 43 women, 20 children from 10 to 15 years, and 40 under 10 years. His Excellency Sir John Campbell visited the ship on Monday morning, and expressed his high approbation at the healthy and robust appearance of the people, particularly the children, and the superior accommodations provided for them, which reflect credit upon the master of the ship and the medical attendant. Not a case of sickness occurred during the passage. Captain Sayers informed us that any number of immigrants for this island could be obtained at Madeira, St. Vincent having a decided preference with them; but this will avail us little, if the same apathy be shown by the planters on future arrivals as on the present occasion, the whole of the people by the *Cruikshank* not being disposed of!—*Royal Gazette*, July 16.

Thirty-eight immigrants from Madeira arrived on the 18th ultimo, in the *Brig Bolivar*. They are said to be a fine body of people, and all in good health.

ST. LUCIA.—The *Independent Press* of Aug. 8th, reports the arrival at that island on the 7th of a canoe with four refugee slaves from Port Royal, Martinique. They are stated to be journeymen (tradesmen, we suppose), and effected their landing at Gros-Islet, whence they proceeded, on the following day, to Castries; to report themselves to the magistrate of the district.